Daily Report

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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

BULGARIA

BCP Supreme Council Message to Roundtable *[Sofia Radio]* 1
Lilov at 23 Feb Supreme Council Session *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 24 Feb]* 1
SDS Organizes 'Silent Vigil' 26 Feb *[BTA]* 2
Official on Halting Price Increases *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 17 Feb]* 3
Komsomol Opens Extraordinary Congress in Sofia *[BTA]* 5
Congress Disagreements Noted *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Data on Finances Revealed *[BTA]* 6
Congress Ends, New Organization Formed *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Doctors Find Zhivkov in 'Very Good' Health *[BTA]* 7
Democratic Youth Organization Elects Leadership *[BTA]* 7
Friends of U.S. Society Planned *[BTA]* 8
New Independent Bulgarian-U.S. Cultural Club *[BTA]* 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Holds News Conference at Prague Castle 9
Spokesman Opens Conference *[Prague Radio]* 9
Havel Answers Reporters' Questions *[Prague Radio]* 9
Havel to Meet Walesa 17 Mar *[Prague Radio]* 15
Federal Assembly Briefed on Soviet Withdrawal *[Prague Radio]* 15
Groups Protest Military Exercises With Soviets *[Prague Radio]* 17
Slovak Government Discusses Nuclear Power *[Bratislava Radio]* 17
Slovak Presidium To Implement Government Program *[Bratislava Radio]* 17
Nationalization Decrees Face Modification *[Bratislava PRAVDA 22 Feb]* 18
Magyar Deputies Criticize Minority Discrimination *[Budapest Radio]* 18
Hungarian Workers Federation Condemns Nationalism *[Bratislava PRAVDA 27 Feb]* 18
Journal Editor Comments on Romany Minority *[CTK]* 19
CPSL's Weiss Denies Press Monopoly Charge *[RUDE PRAVO 28 Feb]* 19
Weiss: Management Review Requires Cooperation *[Bratislava Radio]* 20
CPCZ Foreign Aid Figures Released *[Prague Radio]* 21
Eight Parties Listed Under Civic Forum Umbrella *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 23 Feb]* 21
National Front Transformed Into New Assembly *[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 22 Feb]* 22

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Genscher, Ruehe Speak on Unification *[ADN]* 23
Green Party Says Kohl Tries 'To Buy Votes' *[ADN]* 23
Gysi on Unification, Regional Issues *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Feb]* 23
'Transitional Stage' in Currency Union Urged *[ADN]* 24
Siegert Discusses New Joint Stock Companies *[ADN]* 24
New Group Promotes Commercial Ties With FRG *[ADN]* 24
FRG Energy Firms To Transfer Technology *[ADN]* 24
Passenger Shipping to FRG Begins *[ADN]* 24
Association of Property Owners Forms *[ADN]* 25
Modrow on Role of Army in National Renewal *[ADN]* 25
Politicians, Others Sign Demilitarization Letter *[ADN]* 25
Defense Minister Discusses Army Reform *[FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 28 Feb]* 25
Hoffman Thanks Army, Civilian Employees *[ADN]* 26
FRG Defense Commissioner Visits Barracks *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 23 Feb]* 26

Generals Kill Themselves; Admiral Tries Suicide *[Hamburg BILD 27 Feb]* 26
Committee Shows Stasi Continues Work *[Hamburg BILD 24 Feb]* 27
Kessler, Junker Released From Custody *[ADN]* 27
Former Combine Director Escapes to FRG *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Feb]* 27
Former GDR Spy Chief 'Escaped' to USSR *[Hamburg DPA]* 27
Wolf 'on Holiday' *[ADN]* 28
No Investigation of Wolf *[ADN]* 28
Teterow Officials Reject Fraud Charges *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 22 Feb]* 28
Bank Chief Urges 2-Tier Banking System *[ADN]* 28
ERP Loans Available for Private Enterprises *[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE 22 Feb]* 28
Conservatives Reject Constitution *[Hamburg DPA]* 29
SPD Rejects Partnership With PDS *[Hamburg DPA]* 29
PDS Party Political Broadcast on Elections *[East Berlin TV]* 29
Statement on Fair Campaign *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 26 Feb]* 30
LDP Establishes Organization in Saxony *[DER MORGEN 26 Feb]* 30
Chairman Discusses Policies *[East Berlin TV]* 30
'Potentialist People's Party' Established *[ADN]* 31
Young Liberal Action Group Forms *[DER MORGEN 26 Feb]* 31
Youth Parties Plan To Form Alliance *[ADN]* 31
Schnur on Abolition of Short-Range Missiles *[HAmburg DIE WELT 26 Feb]* 31
Association of Democratic Lawyers Forms *[ADN]* 32
Peace Council Forms as Part of World Movement *[ADN]* 32
Official Discusses Nation's Drug Problem *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 24-25 Feb]* 32
RIAS TV Opening New Offices in 2 Cities *[Hamburg DPA]* 32
Left-Wing Paper Plans New Independent Daily *[Hamburg DPA]* 32
Higher Prices for Newspaper Announced *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 24-25 Feb]* 33
BZ AM ABEND To Publish on Sundays *[ADN]* 33
Gerlach Receives Council of Europe Official *[ADN]* 33
Visas for Austria No Longer Necessary *[ADN]* 33

HUNGARY

Talks on Soviet Withdrawal Continue *[Budapest Radio]* 34
General Comments on Arms Deal With Romania *[Budapest Radio]* 34
Karpati Discusses Cooperation in Romania *[Budapest Radio]* 34
Adherence to Warsaw Pact *[ROMPRES]* 35
Details of Military Talks *[MTI]* 35
Karpati 'Satisfied' With Talks *[Budapest Radio]* 36
Forum's Antall Concludes Visit to France *[MTI]* 36
Meets Chancellor Kohl *[Budapest Radio]* 36
National Assembly Continues Session *[MTI]* 37
Warsaw Pact Discussion *[Budapest Radio]* 37
Chairman on Representation *[Budapest Radio]* 38
Education Law Loses Round *[MTI]* 38
Bartha Addresses Assembly *[Budapest Radio]* 38
Bartha Replies to Debate *[Budapest Radio]* 40
Report on Assets Adopted *[MTI]* 40
Assembly Session Resumes *[MTI]* 41
Assembly Approves Amendments *[MTI]* 41
12 Parties To Offer National Lists *[MTI]* 41
'Halftime' of Election Campaign Analyzed *[Banki in MAGYAR HIRLAP 24 Feb]* 41
Thurmer Notes Workers' Party Election Gains *[MTI]* 42

POLAND

Changes Anticipated in Soviet Troop Accord *[Warsaw Radio]* 43
Further on Accord *[PAP]* 43
Soviet Deportation of Poles in 1940 Recalled *[Warsaw TV]* 43
German Position on Western Border Examined *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 26 Feb]* 44
Skubiszewski Contacts Genscher, Shevardnadze *[Warsaw TV]* 45
Overview of Israeli Foreign Minister Arens' Visit *[PAP]* 45

Democratic Party Chairman Jozwiak Resigns *[PAP]* 46
Mackiewicz Elected Democratic Party Chairman *[Warsaw Radio]* 46
Orientation of Sejm Parties, Deputies Examined *[TRYBUNA 21 Feb]* 46
European Parliament Group Meets With Walesa *[Warsaw Radio]* 48
Walesa Discusses Economy, Europe on French TV *[PAP]* 48
Opinion Poll Results on Unemployment, Prices *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 15 Feb]* 48

ROMANIA

Iliescu on Past Regime, Current 'Instability' *[Paris LE MONDE 28 Feb]* 49
Iliescu on Economy, Communist Party *[ROMPRES]* 51
Iliescu Reviews Romanian Revolution *[ROMANIA LIBERA 22 Feb]* 52
Newspaper Alleges Iliescu-Gorbachev Connection *[Paris LE MONDE 28 Feb]* 53
Stanculescu, Hungary's Defense Minister Meet *[MTI]* 53
NSF Willingness To Implement Democracy Assessed *[Paler in ROMANIA LIBERA 16 Feb]* 53
Article on Need To End Violence *[Paler in ROMANIA LIBERA 23 Feb]* 55
600,000 Members in Hungarian Union *[ROMPRES]* 56
19 Feb Miners Actions 'Threat' to Pluralism *[ROMPRES]* 56
Accusations Against Interior Minister 'Not True' *[Bucharest Radio]* 57
Hungarian Textbooks Not 'Suitable' for Teaching *[ROMPRES]* 57
Ceausescu's Brother Nicolae Andruta Indicted *[ROMPRES]* 57
FRG Aid Greater Than Total Aid From Abroad *[ROMPRES]* 57
Brucan: 'Romania Lags 15-20 Years Behind' *[ROMPRES]* 58
* Brucan Views Transformations in East Europe *[ROMANIA LIBERA 8 Feb]* 58
* Partisan Strife, Power Void Deplored *[ADEVARUL 15 Feb]* 59
* Chairman of Social Democratic Party Interviewed *[ROMANIA LIBERA 7 Feb]* 60
* Disinformation, Restrictions on Freedom Alleged *[ROMANIA LIBERA 7 Feb]* 62

YUGOSLAVIA

Delegations Arrive in Mostar for Kosovo Talks *[TANJUG]* 63
Platform for Talks Adopted *[TANJUG]* 63
Pristina Radio To End Serbo-Croatian Broadcast 63
Bozur Appeal To Continue Work *[TANJUG]* 63
Radio Stops Broadcast *[Belgrade Radio]* 63
Groups Discuss Pristina Radio; Demand Arms *[TANJUG]* 63
Serbs, Montenegrins Demand State Protection *[TANJUG]* 64
20,000 Serbian Youth Demand Protection in Kosovo *[Belgrade Radio]* 64
Serbian Presidency Views Border Security *[POLITIKA 13 Feb]* 64
Slovene Party To Protest 'Unacceptable Measures' *[TANJUG]* 65
Slovenian Presidency on Economy, Serbia *[TANJUG]* 65
Slovene Assembly Presidium Discusses Constitution *[TANJUG]* 66
Assembly Commission Discusses Constitution *[TANJUG]* 66
Amendments to Croatian Constitution Reported *[BORBA 20 Feb]* 66
Drnovsek, Mubarak Hold Talks in Cairo *[TANJUG]* 68
Drnovsek Talks to Journalists *[TANJUG]* 68
More on Drnovsek-Mubarak Meetings *[TANJUG]* 68
Drnovsek Comments, Departs *[Zagreb Radio]* 69
Drnovsek Pays Brief Visit to Malta *[TANJUG]* 70
Returns Home *[TANJUG]* 70
Israeli Spokesman Positive About Relations *[TANJUG]* 70
Serbia's Relations With Israel Viewed *[Biscevic in VJESNIK 21 Feb]* 70

BCP Supreme Council Message to Roundtable

AU2802193590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Supreme Party Council Presidium today sent all participants in the national roundtable the proposals on elevating the roundtable's role, guaranteeing the peaceful development of the transition to a democratic political system, and creating reliable political and legal guarantees for free elections in Bulgaria, which were approved by the BCP Supreme Council on 23 February.

The Presidium suggests that a plenary session of the national roundtable be convened within the next few days to discuss these documents and, in the event of agreement, to reach the relevant accords. At the same time, the session should also complete the work on the agreement on the political system.

It is proposed that at the same session, working groups be formed which should begin discussion without delay on the draft laws prepared for submission to the National Assembly, as well as the draft document on immediate socioeconomic measures which the government must undertake for 1990.

Lilov at 23 Feb Supreme Council Session

AU0103085590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Report by Angel Bonev and Goran Gotev on session of the Bulgarian Communist Party Supreme Council held in Sofia on 23 February: "A Competent Party, Guaranteeing Social Peace and National Unity"]

[Excerpts] At its session on 23 February 1990, the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] adopted a package of political initiatives for our society's thorough restructuring along the path of democratic socialism. [passage omitted]

The session was chaired by Comrade Petur Mladenov. An oral report on current developments and on some of the BCP's political tasks was read by BCP Supreme Council Chairman Comrade Aleksandur Lilov. He pointed out that the evaluations and proposals contained in his report were already discussed at two prolonged meetings of the Supreme Council Presidium and are actually the results of the Presidium's collective efforts.

In reminding the audience of the fact that the party should never lag behind topical events and should even be one step ahead of their progress and development, the speaker stressed that it is high time for serious changes in our country.

Dwelling on the political situation, the chairman of the BCP Supreme Council stated that the democratization process, which was initiated on 10 November 1989, is still under way; it is marked by a very dynamic pace in forming new political parties and movements, in expanding political pluralism. This requires a strong sense of political orientation and timely evaluation of the platforms represented by different parties and organizations. It requires all our energies and initiative in relation to them. We are expected to act with courage, flexibility, and readiness for sensible compromise, but without renouncing our strategic ideological and political principles, the speaker said.

Along with this, we are observing a very high state of our people's politicization, which applies to all social strata, and this development is expanding further. Some characteristic features of this situation indicate that the critical approach to our party has not subsided, that a sharply negative attitude and denunciation of abuses and distortions are manifesting themselves, which is directed in particular against those responsible for the shortcomings. We also observe growing dissatisfaction at the slow progress of the current changes and criticism addressed against certain cadres. Rumors and slander are still widespread and efforts to discredit numerous political figures persist. Dissatisfaction at the delay of short-term and long-term programs for overcoming the economic crisis and at the postponement of the agricultural problems, of the solution of the domestic market shortcomings, and others is also visible. In addition to all this, the party has not yet appropriately responded to the high degree of politicization in the country and still manifests political passivity.

In Comrade Aleksandur Lilov's view, this problem can only be solved by the open and severe denunciation of shortcomings and abuses without trying to shun either party or personal responsibility and without trying to suppress criticism against those who are responsible for the crisis in our country. He warned, along with this, that we should clearly distinguish between the denunciation of shortcomings and abuses and the total negation of the party, of the credits it has earned, and of its contribution to the country's development and to the construction of socialism in Bulgaria. The BCP looks back at a 100-year-old history. Present-day Bulgaria cannot be compared to what it was like 50 years ago. The achievements of the period in question are the basis of our future progress. Therefore, Bulgarian Communists should not be ashamed of themselves. They should listen to sincere criticism and engage in severe self-criticism, but they should not accept slander, insults, and efforts to be discredited. The Communists are fully entitled to show more courage, greater self-confidence, and self-respect. They do not need propaganda, but successes; they need the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Comrade Aleksandur Lilov further stated: The decisive problem today is to renew the party, to turn it into a new type of party. This is the main requirement today. People can and should believe in this renewal based on arguments—namely, on the basis of the party's new goals—and they should believe in the construction of democratic socialism, in the new ideas which should borrow all the valuable assets of the contemporary world. They should believe in the new policy, in the new political

thinking, in the new cadres, and in the new relations with other parties, movements, and nonparty members.

The speaker stated that the opposition's pressure against the party, its policy, and its cadres is intensifying. The attacks at rallies and other mass events are increasingly characterized by rudeness, slander, and efforts to totally discredit the party leaders. Certain opposition leaders hardly choose their means in the struggle against the party. It is evident that the nature of such actions exacerbates the tensions in political life and result in uncivilized and undemocratic behavior, which practically tries to substitute one form of totalitarianism for another. In this connection, the speaker also mentioned the danger of nationalistic manifestations.

Comrade Aleksandur Lilov dealt with the principles on which the party is building relations with its political allies on the basis of equal rights, profound mutual respect, and cooperation for the sake of nationwide interests.

Dwelling on the economic situation, Aleksandur Lilov stated that the crisis is further deteriorating while the preparation of short-term and long-term programs aimed at overcoming the situation are still delayed. In this connection, the speaker pointed out the requirement for special discussions on the subject.

Having described certain manifestations of the party's intensified activities following the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress, the chairman of the Supreme Party Council focused his attention on manifestations of passive attitude and pointed out the negative social impact of such behavior. In his opinion, the party organizations have neither responded to the current events, nor have they engaged in promoting the congress decisions. They did not mobilize their efforts in fulfilling the instructions of the national conference and all this may result in intensifying the negative results of such passive attitudes.

A drastic intensification of the municipal party councils' activities is called for—since they are the decisive links of party activities today.

In the second part of his report, the chairman of the BCP Supreme Council proposed a package of political initiatives on basic and particularly important topical issues for the further restructuring and democratization of our society under the present circumstances and for the BCP's renewal. (The documents on this initiative are expected to be published next Sunday.)

Aleksandur Lilov closed his speech by stating the view of the Supreme Party Council Presidium that if the Supreme Party Council should approve the arguments in support of adopting this package of political initiatives and accept the documents, this would exert a positive political impact upon society and would be likely to serve as a real incentive for the intensification of the party's activities. In this connection, the chairman of the Supreme Party Council called on its members to actively discuss the evaluations contained in the document and the drafts for political initiatives submitted to their attention.

The following Supreme Party Council members took the floor during the debates which continued throughout the night: Jean Videnov, Dimitur Yonchev, Valeri Petrov, Boris Todorov, Kolyo Georgiev, Lyubomir Kyuchukov, Todor Lyutskanov, Tsvetan Nanyov, Ventsislav Krumov, Nikolay Iribadzhakov, Aleksandur Tomov, Atanas Semerdzhiev, Dobri Dzhurov, Dobrin Spasov, Mitryu Yankov, Svetlin Rusev, Atanas Kaludov, Boris Dimovski, Petko Milevski, Veselin Pavlov, Valeri Tsekov, Boyko Dimitrov, Kiril Nikolov, Toncho Zhechev, Veselin Dimchev, Nedyalko Markov, Petur Obretenov, Yulian Evtimov, Mladenov Kiselov, Georgi Tambuev, Chavdar Kyuranov, Lyuben Dinov, Tsvetana Maneva, Lyudmil Staykov, Dobri Rangelov, and Petur-Emil Mitev.

Aleksandur Lilov delivered a closing address, following which the proposed package of political initiatives was submitted to the vote of the BCP Supreme Council members who adopted it. [passage omitted]

SDS Organizes 'Silent Vigil' 26 Feb

AU2602210890 Sofia BTA in English 2001 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 26 (BTA)—Thousands of people flocked to a candlelit silent vigil in the Ninth of September Square in downtown Sofia this evening. At its rally yesterday the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) called for daily vigils until the end of the week to press for speedier democratic reforms.

In an open letter to the organizers of yesterday's rally, the Executive Committee of the Sofia City Council said that the vigils were "illegal" because the organizers had not given the municipal authorities an advance notice. The letter, which was received in the BTA, urges the Union of Democratic Forces to call off the silent vigils.

The City Council says that the responsibility for yesterday's incident in which a large group of ralliers invaded the reviewing stand of the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum rests with the organizers of the SDS rally. The nationwide Committee for Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship has lodged a formal protest in this connection.

In a televised interview, Mr Chavdar Kyuranov, member of the presidency of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Supreme Council, voiced concern over such actions which lead to confrontation and impede the efforts towards a civilized and tolerant dialogue between the political forces.

Official on Halting Price Increases

AU2002100590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by Senior Scientific Associate Rumyana Kraleva, candidate of Economic Sciences: "The Uncontrollable Rise in Living Costs in Bulgaria Can Be Halted"]

[Text] Grandma Tstetsa, an old lady of 80 years, worked until the maximum age. Now she is "contentedly" living on her pension of 2.80 leva a day and 84.00 leva a month. She is living on it because during her 45 years of heavy physical work she paid out 0.06 leva per day—the contribution to the insurance that is now being paid to her so generously. At the present time about a million other pensioners are in the same situation....

However, let us look into the living expenses of the Bulgarian. Expenses, viewed as the value of a certain amount of goods and services which correspond to the traditional consumption of a Bulgarian household and which make up the "consumer basket." The expenses resulting from the contents and the quantities consumed from the total amount in the basket itself, and from the changes in the prices of these goods and services from 1979 to the present. Here is the data on the annual expenditure of a four-member household:

Living Expenses for 1979 and 1989

Groups of Goods and Services	Cost in Leva for a Four-Member Household		Living Cost Index
	1979	1989	—
Food commodities	2,141.42	3,782.77	176.65
Nonfood commodities	611.22	1,741.21	237.87
Other—transportation, housing, communications	1,067.40	3,302.02	309.35
Total:	3,820.04	8,826.00	231.04

This year there are monthly figures for living costs: 79.58 leva per person in 1979, and 183.87 leva for 1989, calculated from the average values of the four varieties of prices recorded for individual goods and services—minimum, two sets of actual average prices, and maximum. This relates to cases where the goods have different prices and are supplied by different producers, as a result of the variety introduced by the companies, cooperative organizations, and private producers. The variety mainly relates to the prices, not to the range of goods offered. The first conclusion is that the cost of living has risen because of the gradual increase in the prices of essential goods and services, despite the official policy of restraining prices. All the same, where are things bursting at the seams?

The following basic groups of goods have risen in price: sugar and sugar products by 260 percent; legumes and vegetables by 230 percent; fruit by 210 percent; meat and meat products by 180 percent; canned and bottled vegetables by 170 percent, and so on. In order that one is not left with the conviction that prices are the only factor that is inflating Bulgarian living costs, let us examine another aspect of the problem, namely the buying power of the average working wage. We will view this not only within the limits of the 10-year period studies, but also in comparison with other periods, by comparing our scanty information with the regularly published (monthly) data for other countries (see Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1. Amount of Average Monthly Wages Needed To Buy Specific Goods

(Average monthly wage = 100/1987)

Type of Goods	Bulgaria	Poland	CSSR	GDR	Hungary	USSR
Average monthly wage (in local currency)	234	29,200	2,994	1,170	6,620	287
Automatic washing machine	2.7	2.2	2.0	2.4	2.5	1.7
Color television	3.9	6.7	-	-	3.4	2.4
Vacuum cleaner	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.2	1.3	0.3
Wool suit	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.7	1.0	1.0
Men's leather shoes	0.1	0.1	0.2	-	0.3	0.5
Winter coat	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6
Raincoat	0.4	0.2	0.3	-	0.4	0.3
Refrigerator, 180 liters capacity	1.5	1.6	-	2.2	1.0	1.1
Normal grade gasoline, 100 liters	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.2

Type of Goods	Austria	France	FRG	UK
Average monthly wage (in local currency)	17,739	8,400	3,300	925
Automatic washing machine	0.4	0.6	0.2	0.3
Color television	0.3	0.8	-	0.2
Vacuum cleaner	-	0.2	-	0.1
Wool suit	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2
Men's leather shoes	0.09	0.06	0.05	0.04
Winter coat	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1
Raincoat	0.09	0.2	-	0.08
Refrigerator, 180 liters capacity	-	0.04	-	0.1
Normal grade gasoline, 100 liters	0.05	0.06	0.03	-

Sources: 1. "Cost of Industrial Goods as Proportion of Average Monthly Wage in Different Countries," Warsaw, 1987.

2. "Statistical Yearbook," Central Statistical Administration, Sofia, 1988, page 86.

Table 2. Quantities of Food Products That Can Be Purchased With One Average Month's Wages

(Average monthly wage in each country = 100/1987)

Type of Goods (in kg)	Bulgaria	Poland	CSSR	GDR	Hungary
Flour	390	550	660	830	580
Milk	709	1,250	1,000	830	930
Hard cheese	47	96	91	41	60
Poultry	69	121	93	78	62
Beef	43	74	42	83	38
Pork	43	46	73	97	30
Ham sausage	31	29	50	78	34
Oil (liters)	156	142	73	196	166
Fruit	180	200	416	416	185
Sugar	156	270	256	714	222

Type of Goods (in kg)	Austria	France	FRG	UK
Flour	1,420	1,250	2,500	2,500
Milk	1,660	2,000	2,500	2,500
Hard cheese	181	93	169	256
Poultry	500	277	476	333
Beef	238	105	156	192
Pork	357	196	263	222
Ham sausage	136	175	232	238
Oil (liters)	588	416	454	769
Fruit	1,666	555	909	1,111
Sugar	1,111	1,000	1,428	1,111

In other words, an average monthly wage in Bulgaria can buy the least quantity of flour, sugar, fruit (!), milk, and ham sausage (except for Poland), and almost the least amounts of hard cheese, poultry, beef and pork, and vodka.... Accordingly, the Bulgarian has a high cost of living, because the money that he lawfully earns can buy less than he bought previously, and less than people in other countries can buy.

This state of the food market is explained by the policy pursued of gradually eliminating agriculture—initially by abolishing private and cooperative ownership, and then by gradually but completely bureaucratizing it. The "results" were not slow in coming: A permanent trend was established of falling labor productivity in relation to the basic commodities and raw materials.

The reasons why the Bulgarian also suffers from shortages in the supplies of nonfood commodities are more difficult to explain. The chief reason certainly lies in the effect of the economic mechanisms, which, instead of ensuring scope for initiative to develop, play the role of a motor that only has one pedal, for both acceleration and braking. One sees a puff of smoke, but the car does not move forward. There is no other way of explaining the effects arising from artificially restricting the right of the goods producers and the market to regulate prices, wages, and labor productivity. I say artificially because real life is stronger and destroys the "balances" created by planning. During the period under consideration, neither pay nor prices were restricted in order to ensure the relevant balances. Wages moved slowly ahead. The increase during the 1980-89 period was 132.5 percent, but this growth was achieved mainly through redistribution and does not represent any real contribution to the production of goods, services, intellectual assets, etc., as a result of the increased quantity and quality of labor. This is also reflected by the deepening deficit.

The policy of holding back prices was also unsuccessful. Prices increased mainly through "changing the labels" on the goods, and sometimes also by reducing the quality of the products being offered. The inducements that make the goods producers apply such a market policy are well known. They do this first and foremost with regard to quantities, because they produce according to a plan and not so much according to consumer demand. They also do this with regard to the monopoly prices, because the purchaser is brought "to his knees" and is unable to make his own choice. He buys what he finds, whereas the producers (protected by the absence of competition) sell at the prices which they approve. This statement is open to dispute, but life demonstrates unambiguously that it is far easier to justify a price to the price-setting organs than it is to justify price and quality in a real market. Thus, the increase in prices that was implemented did not lead to an accumulation of profits in the main production units, but only rescued them temporarily from bankruptcy. The income from the higher prices disappeared into the state's deep pocket through the workings of the tax policy.

As a result of the trends that emerged, a serious socio-economic situation has arisen in the country: Living costs are rising, differences between strata of the population are increasing, as well as the number of poor people, and conditions are being created for speculation and moral degradation. Notwithstanding this, where does the possible solution lie?

—It is natural for every system of government to create its own interim and long-term programs. I will permit myself to assert that these programs should give an important place to restoring the power of the different forms of ownership and confidence in them. This should not be done piecemeal, but by a law which ensures that people's work becomes attractive, and that work becomes pleasurable and satisfying. This change will require appropriate and varied production relations. The labor force will achieve higher productivity—the natural result of a man doing something that he understands. Only labor that finds higher social recognition and greater demand in the market will command a higher price.

The solution lies in a gradual, but real development of the market economy. All the individual production units should conduct their own stabilization programs, free of any guardianship. The market should become the only true regulator of the structure of production, and should achieve a balance between raw material prices and the prices of finished products through the operation of the law of value. In this situation, the deficit will still continue to weigh us down, as an expression of the violations of the real monetary correlations in the national economy, but it will gradually be brought under control by supply and demand and the appropriate redirection of the means of production. Most important, there will be no reproduction by means of central planning.

—The indexing of the cost of living and the real picture of the development of inflation should become permanent and true yardsticks of the trends that are developing, and on their basis the appropriate anti-inflationary measures should be taken, and forms and means of social protection of kinds that the world knows and applies should be developed.

—The real market will help to purge society of the social injustice which has now become deeply rooted, and which is reflected in the fact that far higher incomes are obtained by those who possess power, instead of those who provide more intellectual and material benefits.

Any delay in the process of leading the country toward real forms of ownership and real market mechanisms does not signify concern for the socially weak, but rather a planned increase in their relative numbers, as has been successfully achieved for years on end in the past.

Komsomol Opens Extraordinary Congress in Sofia

AU2402155590 Sofia BTA in English 1256 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 24 (BTA)—The 2,315 delegates of the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DYCL) gathered today at an extraordinary congress to find a way of overcoming the crisis in the organization. The report of the Central Committee of the DYCL underlines that in its present form the youth organization is historically

irrelevant. The DYCL loses confidence and influence. It is estimated that now the members of the organization are between 800,000 and one million, while until recently they were 1,100,000. Rejecting the legacy of totalitarianism, the DYCL should reform along the following lines: voluntary membership, strengthening its independence, protection of the interests of young people who will be the most severely struck by the crisis in the country and who are objectively called upon to overcome it.

In its future activity the DYCL will seek support in the theory of authentic Marxism. All models disguised as a creative elaboration of Marxism which led to the camps in Siberia and the bloodshed in Romania are categorically rejected. The DYCL distances itself from the socialism realized up to now as a narrow ideological scheme.

The report criticizes the conciliatory policy of the DYCL which resulted in the rural-urban migration of more than 23,000 young people only in the last two years, the youth-brigade movement which has been turned into a disguised form of youth labour service, the ideologized education.

DYCL CC [Central Committee] First Secretary Rosen Karadimov announced that the full-time staff is cut by more than 60 per cent, that the regional committees are disbanded and the nomenklatura is eliminated, that the terms of office-holding are limited, that the children's organization Septemvriyche is separated from the DYCL and that the DYCL is organizationally independent of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

In his view the organization should be a political, but not ideological opposition to the state.

It was proposed to set up a government body on the problems of youth which should be under the control of the youth.

Congress Disagreements Noted

AU2502193290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] For the second day the participants in the extraordinary congress of the Dimitrov Komsomol cannot reach an agreement on many issues. Our reporters report that the atmosphere at the debates gets more heated by the moment. The main dispute revolves around the issue of the organization's nature—a political or trade union, a federation or confederation. Dozens of variant alternatives of various groups and formations were presented, among them demands to disband the Komsomol. They all became the subject of scholastic quarrels. However, the very fact that a program declaration is being discussed shows that there is a strong probability that unity will be preserved, even if there is no clear platform.

The stereotypes and cliches of thinking that have accumulated serve as an obstacle on the road of the delegates' willingness to change. Occasionally the tone of the debates crossed the border of decency, however, the reason for this was not in the participants' unwillingness to listen to each other, but in the unclarified character of the future organization.

Three trends emerged and they presented their formulations for platforms of a similar or close character. In the final analysis, after repeated voting, the delegates adopted a text that reads:

Our opinions and views are based on socialist ideas because they are the best choice among the alternatives existing in society.

The congress continues its work.

Our reporters have just reported that 20 delegates have left the congress hall as a demonstration of their disagreement.

Data on Finances Revealed

AU2602085090 Sofia BTA in English 2305 GMT 25 Feb 90

["Foundations of a New Organization Are Laid"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—Despite the differences of opinion and approach, expressed rather heatedly sometimes, the extraordinary congress of the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DYCL), which is going on for the second day now, did not question the necessity of setting up a new democratic organization that would be the legal successor of the DYCL.

The question of the legal succession was not discussed in its ideological and political aspects, because the totalitarian past is made a total break with. The problems were rather related to the financial and property status of the organization.

It became known that up to now the DYCL was not particularly pinched for money. Last year it was subsidized by the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and got 39 million leva which is 80 per cent of its total income. The successor will not be in such a favourable situation because the DYCL gave up, not unilaterally, the BCP financial injections.

The new organization is expected to seek a way out from its financial difficulties in carrying out economic activity (now 50 youth clubs for technical and scientific activity work as companies) and in considerable cuts of its full-time staff which have already began.

Contrary to the rumors spread, the DYCL property proved to be rather modest. Its own fund of buildings amounts to only 43,000 leva's worth. It is another question that the organization manages, with an ideal purpose, state property amounting to 25.5 million leva, including the 2,100 youth and pioneers' clubs and centers scattered all over the country.

The congress adopted a resolution for granting absolute independence to the Septemvriyche Pioneer Organization and insisted on the adoption of a children and childhood law, on prohibiting the use of children for the purposes of political struggle, on ratifying the international convention on children's rights.

A declaration of the Varna National Forum of Young Farm-Workers was read in which it is announced that a Youth Agrarian Organization is set up which is willing to cooperate with all democratic forces in the country and to be included in the structures of the successor of the DYCL.

More than one hundred platforms and drafts of final documents were presented to the youth forum a programme declaration structural rules of the new organization, a proposal to call it Bulgarian Democratic Youth. [sentence as received]

DYCL Leader Rosen Karadimov said that the opinion prevailing in most platforms is that the future organization should have a more marked social purpose. The political means of struggle, no matter how undesirable they may be, will be among the basic ones used by the organization, because they are the most efficient. As to the economic and social aspects, at least at the beginning the legal successor of the DYCL will not be too strong, which predetermines the orientation to political campaigns for protecting the interests of the youth.

The delegates shared the opinion that the new organization should not be restricted to one ideology and that it should adhere to universal human values, democracy and national ideals.

The touchstone proved to be the proposal to include in the programme declaration a text declaring the organization's adherence to the socialist ideas as a choice of possibilities for the development of society. After long debates the text was adopted. Immediately after its adoption about twenty delegates returned their delegation cards, expressing disagreement with the text. The debates are going on.

Congress Ends, New Organization Formed

AU2602165390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] The Dimitrov Komsomol already has a successor—namely, the Bulgarian Democratic Youth Social Organization. It will implement its activities by political means in accordance with the country's laws and Constitution.

Sections of the delegates split into the two following groups: The Young Socialists Union and the Youth Confederation. After long discussions the basic rules of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth were established. This was the end of the Komsomol Extroardinary Congress, and the first congress of the new organization opened immediately following this.

It is not yet clear whether we could describe the congress as a constituent one. It shall be further clarified whether the organization should inherit the property and resources of the former Dimitrov Komsomol. A total 1,490 people are participating as delegates at the new congress. They confirmed their membership in the new organization.

Our reporters at the congress briefed us about a decision to hold the next congress no later than 31 May 1990. The election of a chairman and Presidium is still expected to take place.

Doctors Find Zhivkov in 'Very Good' Health

AU2802171590 Sofia BTA in English 1632 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 28 (BTA)—Having perused the case history and having personally examined the remand prisoner Todor Zhivkov, a team of medical consultants found the ex-head of state and former Communist Party leader in a very good state of health for his age, the Prosecutor General's Office announced.

The consultants included Prof. William Fields, head of the Neurology Department of the University of Texas Health Science Center at the Houston School of Public Health, and six leading Bulgarian specialists in neurology, psychiatry and neurophysiology. They found that Todor Zhivkov's psychological condition was "absolutely normal." His memory is completely retentive for a person aged 79.

Zhivkov's only complaint is a transient vertigo resulting from a past condition. There is no clear evidence of damage to the central nervous system. There is no evidence of the administration of mind-altering drugs. The consultants introduced slight corrections into the treatment applied so far and recommended continued hospitalization in the same conditions and regimen.

The medical report, signed by the experts, was compiled on February 27. Bulgaria's prosecutor general requested the expert medical examination to certify the neuropsychiatric condition of Todor Zhivkov who is remanded in custody and under investigation.

Democratic Youth Organization Elects Leadership

AU2702090890 Sofia BTA in English 0818 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 27 (BTA)—The Constituent Congress of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth, which ended early this morning, elected Mr Rosen Karadimov president of the new organization and Mr Milko Belev chairman of its Auditing Commission.

The Bulgarian Democratic Youth is the rightful successor of the Dimitrov Young Communist League.

Friends of U.S. Society Planned

AU0902195290 Sofia BTA in English 1829 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 9 (BTA)—A group of journalists, actors, translators and representatives of different other professions decided today to found a civic society "Friends of the U.S. in Bulgaria", independent of any official structures whatsoever.

The group met in a premise of the capital city Theater of Satire and decided as early as possible to make up a statute and program declaration, after which it will be possible to register the society.

An announcement, prepared in advance, read that a distorted and wrong impression about Western democratic countries was being created in Bulgaria for over four decades. The United States have been the main target of confrontational propaganda up till now. Notions as "the American way of life" or "American democracy" have been used as insulting descriptions. In spite of the concealments, semi-truths and blatant lies, however, many Bulgarians have preserved good feelings for the friendly, freedom-loving and enterprising American people, and respect for the traditions and values of American democracy.

The founders are guided by the understanding that the present day world is a united system, in which all national cultures should interact intensively. The announcement goes on to say that they are united by the respect for the humane values of democracy which are shared by the two countries' broad social circles.

New Independent Bulgarian-U.S. Cultural Club

AU2102220590 Sofia BTA in English 2130 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—The Independent Club For Scientific and Social Contacts Bulgaria-United States 104 was founded here today at the initiative of a group of diplomats, scientists and economists. The figure in its name symbolizes two important dates in the history of the two countries November 10 and July 4.

The club was set up for the purpose of contributing to the extension of cooperation between Bulgaria and the United States and to the rapprochement of the two peoples in science, social life, culture, politics and economy.

Havel Holds News Conference at Prague Castle

Spokesman Opens Conference

LD2802133790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Opening address by presidential spokesman Michal Zantovsky at news conference by President Vaclav Havel at Prague Castle—live]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues, I open this news conference. We do not have a great deal of time and therefore allow me at the beginning to recapitulate in one minute what has happened and what is going to happen.

As you know, the president returned last Friday from his trip to the United States and addressed a rally on the Old Town Square. Last Sunday he delivered a major speech on Old Town Square and in the early hours of last Monday he left for a working visit to the Soviet Union from which we returned last night. The president went from the airport directly to watch a tennis exhibition match between Ivan Lendl and Milos Mecir.

Tomorrow, after three and one half months of exhausting work, the president will leave for his first vacation, which will last less than one week. In this connection I would like to ask you, should you by any chance want to test your journalistic guile—the president will be at an undisclosed place [laughter]—not to do so for this is really the first six days which he is going to have. Naturally, as the president has just whispered in my ear, he is in any case not going to rest and will be working.

In the next few weeks we are anticipating several important events. As you probably know, FRG President Weizsaecker will visit Czechoslovakia on 15 March. You surely realize as journalists that this date has a symbolic significance. Mr. Weizsaecker is a representative of a totally different Germany than the one on whose behalf Adolf Hitler arrived in Prague Castle on 15 March 1939. Mr. Weizsaecker is a very interesting, very cultured, and very educated figure of European significance, and this is why I recommend that you acquaint yourselves with his personality, his achievements, and work before his visit, and if possible also your readers and viewers.

Finally, probably on 19 March the president will pay a state visit to France and Great Britain. This will probably involve a four-day trip, with two days in France and two days in Great Britain. The president will have talks with President Mitterrand and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Havel Answers Reporters' Questions

LD2802152690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0907 GMT 28 Feb 90

[News conference with President Vaclav Havel by local and foreign reporters at Prague Castle—live]

[Text] [Markusova] Helena Markusova, foreign broadcast, English editorial office. Mr President, I have two questions. In the last 40 years we were used to having the USSR presented to us as an example on every occasion. Do you think, Mr President, that there is any area or direction in which the USSR could be our example? The second question concerns the widely discussed issue of German unification. It is known that Poland has an eminent and understandable interest in taking part in these talks. Do you not think, Mr President, that Czechoslovakia, as a neighbour of the two German states, should also take part in these talks? Thank you.

[Havel] First question. As you certainly know there are several scientific disciplines in which the USSR is undoubtedly far ahead of us. The USSR, as you have certainly noticed, has been sending people to outer space, and Czechoslovakia has not done that yet, and so on. Undoubtedly, there are areas from which we can learn. The second question: Please excuse me if my answer is somewhat longer. As you know talks called four-plus-two will be held. This means the four victorious superpowers and the two German states. These talks will not be in the nature of a sort of peace conference to conclude peace with Germany and set definite borders, because this is a task of another (?meeting) in which other states that took part in the World War II will participate. This is understandable. It is a preparatory meeting of a consultative nature. Nevertheless, Poland is very interested in attending as an equal participant the portion of these talks when the Polish-German border will be discussed. The reasons for this Polish interest are more than understandable, and we support this interest of Poland. I perhaps do not need to speak about why it is Poland has this interest, but if you want, I shall explain it. We support Poland but we are not trying to take part in this conference, our borders are not called into question by any serious political force and, simply, our position with regard to the German state is different. We are not interested in taking part in that meeting. I think that we know well that a definite European arrangement will take place later, at a later (?gathering), at which we will undoubtedly participate. But we support the Polish request.

[Margolin] Jiri Margolin. Mr. President, you have been incredibly active during your 30-hour visit to Moscow. Nonetheless, was there anything you wanted to see and did not see? Was there anyone to whom you would have wanted to talk and did not talk?

[Havel] There were innumerable things I wanted to see and did not see. I wanted to take at least a five-minute walk about the Arbat and I did not manage it. RUDE PRAVO [as heard] almost compelled us to take a walk around it for a few moments thanks to the fact that we were at that time relatively near it in the nearby Kremlin. There were of course innumerable people I wanted to talk with and could not, and there were many people with whom I could only shake hands and was not able to talk to them any further. I could talk about this more specifically, but nonetheless I think that I managed to

hold a few important conversations. I regard as the most important the fact that, if I am not mistaken, I was able to spend a consecutive six hours with Mr. Gorbachev, and this was very important for me and naturally not only for me but also for this country, and not for this country alone.

I also had a rather lengthy and fruitful conversation with Mr Yeltsin and a very important conversation with Mrs. Bonner, Ogoraz, and other fighters for human rights with whom we had breakfast and then we went jointly to visit Sakharov's grave. My meeting with cultural representatives was also very interesting and important to me. It was attended by Yevtushenko, Klimov, Lyubimov and about 200 famous people, not all of whom, regrettably, I could talk with. I merely replied to questions from some of them but this meeting was also very important for me, and I dare to assert that it was interesting also for them. There were also many people with whom I could not talk at all, lacking time to do so. Only later did I learn how many other famous people were there.

[Zantovsky] The president had of course in mind the Red Square and not RUDE PRAVO, as you have certainly understood. [laughter]

[Havel] Did I say RUDE PRAVO? That is odd.

[Zantovsky] Mr Martinek from CSSR television.

[Martinek] Mr President, allow me two brief questions. I would like to know how Mr. Gorbachev reacted to your speech in Congress, where you told the United States that the best way to help Czechoslovakia was for the United States to help the Soviet Union to defend or restore democracy, and secondly, whether you have specified in the agreements the number or the proportion of Soviet advisors, both security and military, who would continue to work in Czechoslovakia following the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

[Havel] We talked with Mr. Gorbachev about many important things and did not manage to cover everything. For instance, as far as that speech to the Congress is concerned, I am not sure whether Mr. Gobachev knew it at all and if he knew he did not let me know it, and if he did not know than I am not surprised at all, because he has so many internal political worries that he probably truly does not have the time to read everything. Nonetheless, I conveyed to him some of the ideas from that speech of mine in Congress, and I even had the opportunity to explain them to him specifically to the extent I could not do in Congress. I also told him the same things I told the Foreign Relations Committees of the U.S. Congress and what I told President Bush concerning certain ideas of ours about the timetable of the future changes in Europe. And I must say that he listened to me with uncommon attention and with great interest, and I did not notice at all any elements of any kind of haughtiness of power, or superiority.

This was not a conversation between a representative of a superpower and some kind of a fresh president from a tiny country. It was truly a conversation between two people who are interested in the future, not only of this continent but of the world in general. I did not tell Mr. Gorbachev that I spoke a great deal in the United States, not only in the Congress but also in a number of other places, about the necessity to encourage a peaceful development to democracy in the Soviet Union. Perhaps other people will tell him. Perhaps they will give this to him in the form of a background briefing which he may request. The important thing is that we agreed uncommonly on the general and conceptual matters. The important thing was that we wrote a declaration to establish a totally new and different quality of mutual relations. Anyone who can read between the lines will have understood that the declaration finally abolishes the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine.

I have replied more broadly than I was asked to, but perhaps this does not matter.

[Lukas] Edward Lukas from the INDEPENDENT. Mr President, would it not be better to seek adivsors among experts rather than among friends?

[Havel] I must tell you that I have had the best experience with my friends in the castle and I know of no experts who could better help me. Their work is not too visible. Sometimes they appear beside me on television and I talk while they remain silent so that an impression can arise among some observers that they are doing nothing and that they merely travel with me. This is not true. They work 20 hours a day. Their work is totally professional, better than any professional or specialist could do. Of course, there are areas where I have expert advisors—on the economy, for instance, and the like—but, for example, the way in which Sasa Vondra looks after foreign affairs and Jiri Krizan looks after the Army and home affairs and organs of power is totally perfect, and I would not want any specialist. At this moment these are my best specialists. This is perhaps because Krizan holds the rank of private, although he is a member of the State Defense Council, and also because Sasa was never abroad until he started to travel as a presidential advisor.

[Zantovsky] Mr Hejma.

[Hejma] Mr President, I would be interested to know what you discussed with Mr. Gorbachev in private and, secondly, whether you could compare somehow the atmosphere of your visit to the United States and the Soviet Union when the visit took place within the framework of a week.

[Havel] Yes, with regard to the atmosphere I would say that the visit to the Soviet Union was calmer. There was not such a rush as in the United States, where my program was calculated to the minute, which was really exhausting. I had innumerable talks there, and there was nothing in the newspapers about those, which were the most complex and strenuous ones because journalists were, naturally, not allowed to attend, and when they were allowed to attend they did not manage to get in

becase they did not have big enough elbows. Therefore, from my personal viewpoint that visit was incomparably more strenuous. As far as the atmosphere is concerned, I must say that it was very similar to the visit to the Soviet Union: the same surprise, the same kind reception, the same interest.

Now about the second question, what we discussed with Mr. Gorbachev in private. The fact is that my conversations with him were never quite private. On my side these discussions were attended by Sasa Vondra and Michal [Zantovsky] here, and on his side his advisor and an interpreter. We discussed various matters. But I personally regard as the most important the discussion I mentioned already concerning the immediate future, a discussion about a timetable of future changes in Europe. Many people are worried about the question of the future of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the unification of Germany and the like. I explained in greater detail my ideas, which I had already outlined roughly in the U.S. Congress, to which Mr. Gorbachev listened—as I have already said, with exceptional interest and attention, and it would appear as if they in effect accepted it although he did not say so specifically. He said that he liked it and that the ideas were close to him.

That ideas lie in the fact that the Vienna talks, that four plus two meeting which has been talked about, constitutes preparatory steps which will continue with a kind of a summit of the heads of European states, which should be held this year, and from which there should emerge, apart from the agenda which has already been prepared and which the summit should discuss, a kind of a plan to bring forward to an earlier date if possible the second Helsinki conference, which is planned for 1992, perhaps to next year if not to the end of the current year. This is in order that the Helsinki process grows into something different than it was originally; in order that it grows at this moment into something that would be the equivalent of a peace conference that has not yet taken place; in order to become something what will put a final period to World War II and its consequences, which means the division of Europe. And it lies in the fact that the two sides liberated Europe, each from a different side, and they met on the Elbe, which later led to the harsh division of Europe and the whole structure of military blocs which is in effect the result of World War II, and afterwards of the Stalinist era and the like.

This conference would put a kind of full stop after all this, it would conclude a kind of a multilateral agreement which would confirm the existing European borders, and the unification of Germany would thus be legalized, fixed, and defined and put into a broader context, namely, by this conference. This process of a kind of a fast, wild unification should be not at all a complication for Europe; it should be a kind of engine which accelerates this development toward the new all-European arrangement. This means, of course, the creation of a new security system of some kind, because the existing one is based on the principle of those two pacts standing against each other and power groupings. This means that the existing pacts would have to merge somehow, and this more in the case of NATO, which is somewhat stronger, while the Warsaw Pact is more formal and there are not so many troops as a regular part of it—it is something a bit different—they should in some way merge into some kind of quite new security structure, united, European and which would, of course have its linkage within the entire Helsinki zone—that is, the northern part of the globe with linkage to the United States and Canada, and the zone goes around to the Soviet Union. This is logical also from the point of view of the Helsinki process in which all these states, including Canada, participate.

It seems to us that all this could continue. This would also solve questions such as whether the united Germany should be neutral or a NATO member. These are, in my opinion, at present, alternatives—both equally odd, to say the least, and hardly acceptable to anyone, but in the framework of a new security system and a new European arrangement—there should be no problem in defining Germany's position and creating a system which would defend Europe against a possible threat in the future. Let us hope, however, that there will not be one. This would mean a considerable reduction of all armies, a system of mutual guarantees among states, and so on. And I have to say that this concept has met with great understanding both by Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev, and their thinking is in fact, in variations, of course—the White House is indeed some distance from the Kremlin after all. It is going in fact in a similar direction even if it is not specifically expressed in those words. This is quite normal. This is not any special discovery—such a vision of the schedule of the changes.

I should, at the end of telling you about what we talked with Mr. Gorbachev—I cannot tell you all, I would have to speak for six hours—but I should say at the end that the idea which I voiced in my new year's message, two days after my election—that is, that the summit meeting of Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev could take place in Prague. This idea has been viewed with great interest by both of them and they looked as if they would quite like it to be in Prague. They will, as you know, meet in Washington in June, but if all goes well they will be meeting more often—in the autumn they may meet again, and we would find them a nice little chateau, similar to that which we visited in Reykjavik and which now is a kind of a monument to the meeting between Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev.

[Gardner, in English with superimposed Czech translation] Timothy Gardner. You have emphasized the relations between internal and external peace. It is said that every state which has democracy and human rights at home will also be a good partner in some peaceful solutions and security. Do you believe that the Soviet Union qualifies, according to these standards? And one more question: Did you discuss with Mr, Gorbachev the self-determination for individual nationalities of the Soviet Union?

[Havel] Let me write this down. Yes, the idea that without peace inside a state, without peace between governments and the population, without the observance of human rights and without democratic order one can hardly imagine any fruitful, lasting, and real international arrangement—this is all clear to everyone today. Everyone agrees with this. Another thing is: For human rights to be observed as they should be in some places, they will never be completely observed anywhere because this would mean that we would have paradise on earth and world history could end. [sentence as heard] But in some countries where the transition is in progress from the totalitarian system to the democratic system, the transition simply does take some time. Countless changes have to be carried out, structural changes and countless legislative changes. And something in the people's thinking, above all, in social conscience, as Marxists call it, has to change. And this is very complex and difficult, above all in the Soviet Union, where the situation is much more complex than in our country, where, as you know, it is also difficult.

Naturally, we also discussed how Mr. Gorbachev envisages the future structure of the Soviet Union. He himself said that what exists there is not a federation but a totalitarian system and that it is necessary to create a real federation, to fill it with content—that is, a federation as a voluntary community of sovereign nations. He said more or less what we say here when we say that we want to turn our federal totality into an authentic federation. Of course, this is more complex in the Soviet Union—many people have a different view of this. The Baltic republics will soon be a kind of double status, one which they reflect as having and one which Moscow says they have.

This is quite complex, and there are people who support more the concept of confederation or union. All this is in a state of... [changes thought] Well, I was in fact very surprised how calm and businesslike discussions are being held about this. This is not, well, at least in places where I went—that is, in the Supreme Soviet and the Kremlin, and the meeting with the opposition—that is, the interregional group in the Supreme Soviet. The matters are discussed calmly and with an overview, without any kind of hysteria and so on, and even representatives of Sajudis and such like whom we invited to our reception and such potential presidents of union republics—selections are taking place at present in those union republics, as you know. All of them talked about it with such calm, in a businesslike manner; they listened with interest how things are going in our country, in which we are further than they are, and so on. In this respect my impression was good. It did not seem to me that things are as wild there as it may seem from here sometimes. Naturally, they have the local conflicts and such like, but some of them would not have to exist if Moscow could make decisions faster. Everything has to be thought out well, but sometimes one simply has to think very fast.

[Zantovsky] Mr Hus.

[Hus] I am a freelancer. Mr President, I would like to turn your attention to our domestic affairs. After the agreements that have been concluded—that is, the agreement concluded by Minister Shevardnadze and Minister Dienstbier, and after the signing of your declaration with Mr. Genscher—do you view as acceptable the formulation that our country is more sovereign than ever before in the past 50 years, despite the fact that Soviet troops remain temporarily stationed on our territory for at least another year?

[Havel] It depends. Basically it seems to me that after Munich we were not as sovereign but—and there are certain buts—countless number of treaties are valid, and they cannot be immediately and unilaterally revoked because we are decent people and this is not done, is it? There is a countless number of links from the old times, and they cannot be simply broken overnight or in an hour of some talks. All this is in motion. A number of things which are recognized de facto are not yet confirmed anywhere de jure, and this is not so simple but in fact and politically it seems to me that we are today a country which is sovereign, independent and respected, which does not have to be afraid of any threat from the immediate vicinity, and which does not have to be afraid that it would be forced by anyone to capitulate, as we have been forced many times in our modern history, and one which is determined also to defend all that it has gained.

[Zantovsky] Mr Sulc.

[Sulc] Milan Sulc, Radio Free Europe. Yesterday and the day before I was on a two-day visit to Moscow after a long time, and I felt a bit uncomfortable, especially as I came straight from Prague—uncomfortable in terms of the atmosphere and people. Have you ever been in the Soviet Union before and can you therefore compare things? And another thing: Have you been able to detect any specific signs of a democratic process also in the Soviet Union?

[Havel] I have to note this down so I do not forget. There are as usual two questions in one. I went to the Soviet Union in 1967 on a trip organized for the Artists Union. I traveled through various Central Asian republics; I went to Moscow, too, where I saw a performance in the Taganka Theater and went around the Kremlin, outside only. I only got inside this time, yesterday and the day before.

During my trip it was important at that time that I was able to see these various republics, Georgia, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and the like. I realized that what is happening there now must happen sooner or later. That phenomenon has infected the whole world; the so called Third World has emerged due to this process of self-assertion and self-liberation of nations. I felt wherever I went that this must happen also there. I estimated it would take place in about 50 years but it occurred 23 years later. Of course, the memory of my trip was not useful during the recent talks. In comparison, I spent, I

believe, about a month there at that time. The difference between these two visits is that during that month I did not meet a single more important or more interesting person, not even an ordinary writer, my colleague or the like. This time, however, I met in the course of a mere two days so many important people that I was almost astonished.

The question of democracy follows this. Naturally, I cannot deliver judgments about the situation in such an enormous country on the basis of a few conversations with its highest representatives and best known figures. Nonetheless, in the circle in which I moved I met a surprising degree of tolerance and mutual understanding. Mr. Gorbachev did not mind that I was to meet Mr. Yeltsin the very same day. I had to rush from the news conference in the Kremlin to the meeting with his opposition, the interparliamentary union [as heard], and he [Gorbachev] did not mind this at all. He explained his view; explained why he did not see eye to eye with them on anything. They took this, however, with detachment and humor. I took with me the dinner menu we had in the Kremlin, which I asked Mr. Gorbachev to sign and at that reception I then asked Mr. Yeltsin to sign the same menu. He laughed and signed his name under Gorbachev. They take things in a sportsman-like manner and this is a kind of signal of democracy. The same applies to the Supreme Soviet. They were saying they did not know what the result would be, how they were going to argue among themselves. They even flattered me a great deal by telling me that their very important debate about the establishment of the presidential office in the Soviet Union was favorably influenced by my visit in the Soviet Union because I had the opportunity to explain a few experiences from the presidential office and to give a few of our views. That office was a subject of a great deal of discussion. At that time it was the number one subject; I was naturally drawn into the debates. These debates were once again totally free. Things are, however, a bit more complicated. From the talks with the highest leaders one cannot draw more far-reaching conclusions than is appropriate. Nonetheless, I was favorably surprised with the atmosphere.

[Zantovsky] I would be very grateful to the gentleman on the platform if he would kindly refrain from talking during answers. Jiri Ruml.

[Ruml] Jiri Ruml from LIDOVE NOVINY. I would like to return to what Mr. Zantovsky said at the beginning. When you, Mr. President, visited both Germanys on your first foreign trip, you astonished some observers and even caused resentment among some of them. The visit of Mr. Richard von Weizsaecker, the federal president has now been announced. It is set for 15 March, which will undoubtedly again provoke questions whether this date for the visit by the German statesman is the most appropriate one. Would you like to comment on this?

[Havel] I publicly admit that I myself considered this date because, on the contrary, it appears to be exceptionally appropriate to me. It seems to me that I am a kind of friend of symbols in politics. Politicians whose lifelong profession is politics do not have that sort of sense. They lack experience from the arts or theatre, although they have a large number of perhaps more important experiences. The fact that the visit will take place on 15 March seems something enormously important to me. Hitler came here as a messenger of war, as a messenger of violence, brutality and horrors for the whole world. Mr. Weizsacker will come here as a messenger of peace. He is a philosopher, a highly educated person and an excellent gentleman. He will come to sovereign Czechoslovakia which will present to him at the airport during an inspection various kinds of the country's Armed Forces. He will come as a man ...it is a kind of counter-visit.

He is a man who somehow with his presence negates, cancels, everything that happened, who, it could be said, is a definitive contrast to everything we had to live through, that it is a kind of signal that we are beginning to live with our very important European neighbors in a completely different relationship. It seems to me to be important for us. We should make some joint speeches for West German and Czechoslovak television. We will write two speeches, President Weizsaecker and I, and we will try and explain it more coherently than my improvising here.

[Zantovskiy] That gentleman over there, who's name I am afraid I do not know.

[Petranek] Petranek, LIDOVE NOVINY: Mr. President, the 140th anniversary of the birth of Tomas Masaryk will soon take place, that is a man who 72 years ago managed to agree with the Soviet Union, and since you like anniversaries perhaps you will enjoy this reminder, that the Czechoslovak Army could leave the Soviet Union for home, even if it was by way of going round the world. I would like to ask you, how would you like to celebrate the 140th birthday of Tomas Garrigue Masaryk and if you will also meet with the press on that occasion?

[Havel] First of all, I want to protest against the phrase that I like anniversaries. That isn't true, I was talking about something else: about symbols, metaphors, and a sense of the dramatic structure in politics. As far as the anniversary is concerned, I will naturally lay flowers on 6 March at Masaryk's grave and on 7 March within the framework of a working visit to the South Moravian region. It is planned that I will unveil a statue in Hodonin, where I will make a certain speech on the occasion. I will certainly remember the anniversary. Whether the press will be there or not I think also depends a bit on the press themselves, where they go and where they do not go.

[Zantovsky] Czechoslovak radio.

[Stahlavsky] Czechoslovak radio, David Stahlavsky: President Mikhail Gorbachev called you a realist with a view of the future. Could you describe Mr. Gorbachev

and in this connection could you tell us how you see the future of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations, what is the reality, both positive and negative? Thank you.

[Havel] As far as how I see Mr. Gorbachev is concerned: He appears to me different than on television. Of course I knew him from television and he didn't appear very likeable to me. It seemed to me that he is sometimes dictatorial when he shouts at the meeting of the Congress of People's Deputies, for example, shouting them down, joking in that way and sometimes flirting to the camera. When I met him in person, I found that he is someone completely different. He is a modest, shy, likeable man who listens to what you say to him, which is not usual with politicians, someone who accepts the ideas of others which is also not usual among politicians; each of them proudly claims authorship of an idea and when someone comes with a better idea then he either steals it from him or does not agree with it. But he is absolutely not like that. He is a person who wants to know, he is curious and he is not shy to admit to being at a loss, if he is at a loss on an issue. To put it simply, I liked him. But that does not mean that there are not elements in his way of thinking and his behavior against which I might have reservations.

This is understandable. It is a person whose background is different from mine. We certainly differ, but this is the way of life; it is normal.

This was the first question and the second question followed it; yes, I can remember it now. How do I see the future of our relations? I think the development in the Soviet Union will still be quite complicated. Nevertheless it is irreversible. It is not possible that history would make such a turn and then go back. So, I believe the Soviet Union's path toward democratization, true plurality, and independence of her peoples will be as peaceful and as quick as possible. Of course, on its speed and peaceful nature will also depend the speed and peacefulness, so to speak, of building our new relations. These relations will be, of course, different than they were in the past. We will not be a totalitarian state; we will not be anybody's provincial state; we will be an equal partner for which the Soviet Union will be a very beneficial economic partner when normal economic relations between our countries have materialized. It seems to me it is only now that the path toward the friendship, which was being proclaimed for so long here, when these proclamations of friendship were on each corner and each chimney, is opening up. This was no friendship, because I think there cannot be a true friendship fit only for a wall or a chimney. The true friendship may now begin.

I would like to say one thing which I was not asked. I would in particular like to say here that when I arrived from Moscow, Marian Calfa told me at the airport that Mrs. Chamorro won the elections in Nicaragua, and I immediately sent her a letter spurred on by my joy. I took a glimpse of this letter in MLADA FRONTA, today, I think. I am extremely pleased at this because I, so to speak, have been following her career for many years, since the Sandinist revolution. I was even able to follow the beginnings of her career better than its continuation because when I was imprisoned, or rather when I was detained, I had time to thoroughly read each sentence in RUDE PRAVO and to imagine what it concealed and to decipher it. This enabled me to understand who Mrs. Chamorro really is. She is a democrat, an intellecutal, a great woman. I was very, very pleased she won the elections. Out of sheer joy I sent her a letter straight from the airport.

[Zantovsky] If you please.

[Unidentified reporter, in English with superimposed Czech translation] Mr. President, as far as the church is concerned, how do you intend to (?proceed in introducing) forms of a more independent church and when will it be possible to appoint archbishops freely?

[Havel] This is still to be included in the legislation this year, but the church is in fact absolutely independent from the state, and as you know all bishops have been appointed to 13 dioceses for the first time after World War II; holy orders exist and are functioning. Diplomatic relations with the Vatican will be established soon, and even the pope will come. He will come despite the fact that his visits are planned two years ahead. He departed from his schedule and will make an exception to come here at the busiest time, at the end of the week of joy after Easter. The relations are very good, but it takes time to confirm things in legislation. Certain things have been done, certain things are still to be done. It is understandable that the reality is slightly ahead of the laws. It is not happening solely in this sphere, but in all spheres. This is why I recommended on Sunday that the Federal Assembly quicken the pace of its work and that it be in session permanently, if possible, so that the laws would be quickly and professionally discussed, and that it also adopt them quickly and professionally, as is required by this era.

[Zantovsky] We only have time for three more questions.

[(?Hokejova)] (?Hokejova) from LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE. Mr. President, because there is time for only three questions, I will ask only one. When you returned from the United States, one of my colleagues asked you what is true about your role as a messenger boy between Washington and Moscow about which you spoke in the Old Town Square [in Prague]. You then said it was too early to say anything about it before your return from the Kremlin. Now the time has come. I would like you to tell us a bit more about the mission, whether it was successful and if it will have any significance for Czechoslovakia.

[Havel] I would first of all admit, self-critically, that the phrase messenger boy was not a fortunate one. I was tired, as the time was moved back and forward and I still have to rule even in the aircraft. The term was not a good one; I was not a messenger boy. They do telephone each other quite often and when they want to tell each other

something I do not have to go to the United States for this, do I? I meant something quite different by this. I explained to Mr. Bush in great detail, Michael [not further identified] here was also present at some of the talks and when he has a bit of time he will no doubt tell you about it in detail. I explained our ideas in great detail to Mr. Bush, above all on the future of Europe. He listened to them with great attention and explained his ideas, which were very interesting to me. We have been looking for common points on which we agree; there were quite a few of them and he also favorably received some of our ideas and explanations. He told me I should report about some, or all matters which we discussed, to Mr. Gorbachev. He has authorized me, therefore, to report about it all, about his reaction, about how he received that which we discussed, about his stands on European matters and so on. He authorized me in a way to stress certain things and to confirm them again—ideas he has already told Mr. Gorbachev about his support for perestroyka and so on and some others. I have done all this but it was not a role of a messenger boy who carries some secret messages from one end of the world to the other. The term messenger boy was indeed unfortunate; on my part I do apologize for using a wrong word.

[Zantovsky] ANSA.

[Unidentified ANSA reporter, in English with superimposed Czech translation] I have two short questions. One is more important, the other not so important. Thus, first of all, the important: You have met many leading representatives. Who did you feel best with? Was it Mr. Bush, Mr. Gorbachev, or the Dalai Lama?

[Havel, laughing] If I should say that any one of those politicians I like better than the others, that it was easier to talk to one than to the others, and that one seemed to me more clever than the other then I would offend some. So, I cannot do this. I cannot draw a popularity ladder for you. I can only say that I suddenly found myself, as you have maybe noticed, involved in important political matters, and I suddenly have held talks with countless number of statesmen, ministers, well-known personalities. I have made friends with many of them, for example, Edward Kennedy, and Brzezinski, and others. My basic experience is that they are quite normal people with a sense of humor, with whom one can chat person-to-person. We tend, as we know them from newspapers only, to think that they are some kind of extraordinary chimeras floating somewhere outside space and time equipped with some endless quantity of knowledge about something which we do not know anything about, with some extraordinary brain capacity and special aims and goals which we cannot read in the paper about, but this is not the case at all. They are normal people. Mr Bjorck, chairman of the European Parliament; Mr Peres, deputy Israeli premier; and I could name others. About the Dalai Lama, he is a quite excellent person, but this would be another story.

It simply surprised me to find out how many quite normal people I had a chance to get to know in these high posts and offices by entering the field of politics.

[Zantovsky] The last question should be the most important one. Mr Lang! Peter Lang, the Hungarian daily MATYAR NEMZET.

[Lang, in English] Mr President, as far as I understand it, this was a question mentioning the possibility of Hungary's entrance into NATO. When you talked with Mr. Gorbachev about the balance in Central Europe, was this mentioned?

[Havel] I do not think such unilateral and wild steps, as entry from one pact to another and leaving a pact, proclaiming neutrality, and so on are going to solve anything. Naturally, each country can do what it likes; it has full right to do so. It seems to me the fastest thing will be when everything is done within the framwork of multilateral talks and cooperation as a unified European process, that we will move quickly, approach what we all want, rather than taking some peculiar, special, surprising steps. This is a general remark. It is not a criticism of Minister Horn. No doubt he knew what he said and he knew why he said it. No doubt he has some sort of a concept of his within whose context he said it. I am not criticizing him, I am only expressing my view as to how to proceed.

[Zantovsky] Colleagues, thank you for your attention and I also thank our translators.

Havel to Meet Walesa 17 Mar

LD0103001590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Vaclav Havel will meet Lech Walesa, chairman of Polish Solidarity, in the Tatry Mountains on 17 March. According to GAZETA WYBORCZA, which cited a deputy foreign minister, Lech Walesa will also take part in a tripartite meeting of presidents, prime ministers, ministers of foreign affairs and deputies, which Prague proposed to Warsaw and Budapest, and which should take place on 9 April in Bratislava.

Federal Assembly Briefed on Soviet Withdrawal

LD2802120190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0836 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Remarks by Deputy Michal Kocab at the Federal Assembly in Prague—live relay]

[Text] Esteemed Federal Assembly, in connection with the report on the state and development of the federation delivered by the prime minister yesterday, I would like to brief you about the conclusions of the 26 February joint meeting of the foreign, defense and security, and constitutional and legal committees of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of the Nations.

In accordance with the conclusions of the 23 January joint meeting of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of the Nations the above committees discussed two proposals concerning the departure of Soviet troops from our territory. The committees gave their unequivocal support to a draft resolution asking the CSSR Federal Assembly to declare the treaty concluded between the governments of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union of 16 October 1968 on the conditions governing the temporary stationing of Soviet troops on the territory of Czechoslovakia, aproved by the CSSR National Assembly on 18 October 1968, as void from the very beginning.

On the basis of this stand the committees proposed that the Federal Assembly should adopt the text of the following resolution:

The Federal Assembly of the CSSR states that

1. The treaty on the temporary stationing of Soviet troops on the territory of Czechoslovakia is void from the very beginning;

2. Also void is the agreement of the CSSR National Assembly expressed in the relevant resolution 18 October 1968.

At the last meeting of both Chambers I also delivered a proposal regarding the date for the complete withdrawal of Soviet military units by the end of 1990 at the latest. The deputies of the above committees are fully conscious of the enormous and justified interest of the Czechoslovak public in the departure of Soviet troops form our territory and the fundamental importance of the given question. In this they proceed from the prerequisite that the Czechoslovak public must be informed about all aspects of the resolution of this problem.

The conclusion adopted at the talks in Moscow embodied in the treaty of 26 February this year—two days ago—do not depart in their basic intentions from the intentions of the two proposals submitted by myself. The basic difference concerns the date of the final departure of Soviet troops from our territory. The treaty signed embodies several stages for the departure of Soviet troops.

During the first stage, by the end of May this year, 35 percent of Soviet troops and 50 percent of the most dangerous combat equipment, including all launching equipment and the entire special ammunition, are to leave Czechoslovak territory. We all surely know what we should imagine under this term special ammunition: nuclear warheads.

Secondly, during the second stage, by the end of this year, about another 25 percent of troops and a further portion of combat equipment is to be withdrawn. This means that 60 percent of troops should be outside the territory of our republic by the end of the year.

During the third stage, by 30 June 1991 the withdrawal of the remaining Soviet troops, their family members, and the remaining combat equipment should be definitely completed.

We were informed that these dates had been proposed following a consultation with the president of the republic and the federal prime minister, with the knowledge that the Soviet side has found itself in an extraordinarily complicated situation and that for a number of technical, social, and political reasons it was not capable of ensuring the complete withdrawal of troops earlier. The circumstances of the talks have, however, indicated that in the future development the situation may change in a positive sense. Both sides at the same time are considering all prerequisites of such decisions in light of common interest in order that differences in the attitude to the issue under discussion do not lead to a possible destabilization of mutual relations or a possible destabilization arising from the departure of Soviet troops unsecured by the necessary internal prerequisites in the Soviet Union itself.

The departure of Soviet troops must be ensured in a manner which corresponds to the principles of humanism and democracy and should not be accompanied by any manifestations of hatred, in the spirit of our efforts for mutual understanding among nations. We must realize that the Soviet people, too, found themselves in a position in which they could not express their real political will and that a peaceful resolution of all questions which are connected with the departure of Soviet troops has only been made possible by the leadership of the Soviet state adopting a policy of respecting the rights of individual states and nations.

In order to systematically monitor the problem connected with the resolution of the whole complex of issues concerning the departure of Soviet troops from our territory, it is proposed to the Presidium of the Federal Assembly that a mixed commission be set up composed of deputies of the above committees—that is, the foreign, defense and security, and constitution and legal committees of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of the Nations, and deputies of other committees having a direct interest in the matter and relevant specialists. This commission should supervise the implementation of the obligations arising from the relevant treaty, initiate the resolution of other issues, including property, historical, and humanitarian matters and should establish cooperation with the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The above committees understand the establishment of the mixed commission for monitoring the implementation of the treaty on the withdrawal of Soviet troops in a broader context. Taking part in the intervention in August 1968, as well as the Soviet Union, there were some other Warsaw Pact states. This fact must be considered within the totality of legal, political, and other aspects. In this sense the relevant mixed commission should prepare their own proposals which would

lead to a truly definitive and complex resolution of all problems connected with the intervention in August 1968. The deputies of the above committees express their firm belief that it is necessary to create conditions for the restoration of mutual confidence and friendship and to build on this basis new relations among all European states and nations.

So much for the report on the meeting of the foreign, defense and security, and constitutional and legal communities of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations.

In conclusion, I would like to speak both for myself and in behalf of hundreds and thousands of citizens whose signatures in support of the speedy departure of Soviet troops I am receiving daily.

I respect the efforts of the Czechoslovak Government in its talks with the Soviet side. I understand that under the current situation better results could probably not have been achieved. Despite the fact that I regard the process of renewal of democracy in Czechoslovakia as irreversible I am concerned, especially in view of the increasing tension in the Soviet Union, that the talks on the Soviet withdrawal do not become fossilized at the level of the simple conclusion of this treaty, embodying the upper limits for the departure of Soviet troops.

At the same time it would not be in variance with the content of this treaty, in line with the wishes of the whole of our nation which is standing at the threshold of a new development stage, if the departure of Soviet troops was speeded up substantially through the joint increased effort of both parties to the treaty in the interest of the development of democracy and the economy. Thank you for your attention.

Groups Protest Military Exercises With Soviets

LD2802191590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] The report on the regular excercises of the troops of the Czechoslovak People's Army and the Central Group of the Soviet Army, has evoked negative responses from the Military Revival Association [Sdruzeni Vojenska Obroada], the Military Commission of Civic Forum Coordination Center, the Military Commission of Czechoslovak Students' Parliament, and the Independent Peace Association. They stress these exercises are considered unsuitable inasmuch as early on 26 February an agreement was signed ending the Soviet troops' stay and providing for their departure from Czechoslovakia. They are convinced it is not necessary for further military exercise cooperation with the units who no longer have anything to do on our territory. Besides, such action can provoke negative reactions from the public both toward our army and toward the Soviet Army, as well as provoke unfavorable international response. According to the views of the above initiatives, the exercises have rather a provocative character.

Slovak Government Discusses Nuclear Power

LD2802134590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] The Slovak Government is in session in Bratislava today. The director of the Government press department, Jan Comaj, speaks about its morning session:

[Begin Comaj recording] In connection with Dr. Juraj Kralik taking up the post of head of the Czechoslovak mission to the United Nations in Geneva, the government today endorsed the decision that Juraj (Koleg) is to head the office of the government.

The government discussed in detail the progress of the construction of nuclear power stations in Mochovce, Temelin, and Kecerovce and arrived at the following conclusions:
The delay in the construction of the nuclear power station in Mochovce should not be more than two years—the period by which the construction is already delayed against the plan today;
That the army should help the construction—that means the help of an additional 350 skilled workers a year;
That all safety precautions at all nuclear stations must be substantially improved. In the case of Kecerovce they should be included in the design;
That the construction of Kecerovce should start in 1992 and the first unit should be put into operation as soon as possible after the year 2000;
To give the population of eastern Slovakia another opportunity to make their views known on the construction of Kecerovce after receiving detailed information on the subject.

There were comments that there is also a deposit of gas in Kecerovce, that not all possibilities of alternative sources of energy have been investigated, that the consumption of the East Slovak ironworks, which consumes 80 percent of the electric power of the East Slovak region, could be reduced by a change of production and technology. It is interesting in this connection that the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic this morning endorsed the draft law of the Slovak National Council on establishing a Slovak commission for the environment. The draft of its composition will be put forward by Deputy Premier Vladimir Ondrus.

The government is now discussing the endorsement of an independent daily, NARODNA OBRODA, for Slovakia. [end recording]

Slovak Presidium To Implement Government Program

LD2802193590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] At today's session in Bratislava the Slovak National Council Presidium concerned itself with the progress of implementing the program statement of the Slovak Government. In this connection it requested that the government increase its activity in preparing and

discussing the draft bills of the Federal Assembly and consistently work to push through respect of the constitutional division of the spheres of influence between the republics and the federation.

The Slovak National Council Presidium accepted the resignation of Ladislav Chudik, minister of culture, and temporarily entrusted Jozef Markus, first deputy premier of the government, with heading that sector. The Slovak National Council Presidium also approved a proposal to set up a childrens fund of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

Nationalization Decrees Face Modification

AU2702153090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Feb 90 p 1

[Unattributed article: "What Will Happen to Private Property?; Nationalization Decrees Have Not Been Abolished"]

[Text] Lately, an increasing number of readers have been asking whether, in connection with the changes in property ownership which are being prepared in the Czechoslovak economy, the nationalization decrees will also be abolished. They are also interested in how private ownership will be treated. Our editor, Marta Csontosova, put these questions to Dr. Jaroslava Svobodova, head of the secretariat of the CSSR Government's Economic Council. Here are the answers:

[Svobodova] As far as the nationalization decrees are concerned, the public has been apparently misinformed. We are talking about a draft bill concerning the private enterprise of physical persons and in no way does this bill contain provisions abolishing the nationalization decrees. It only contains provisions for abolishing some sections of those nationalization decrees, sections which delineate future nationalization and which provide for the nationalization of property in excess of 500,000 korunas acquired by a citizen through his business venture. In order to free private enterprise from these limitations, it was necessary to abolish those provisions in the nationalization decrees.

[Csontosova] When will the bill be enacted?

[Svobodova] The bill is already prepared and we assume that next week it could be debated in the federal government and then, based on any objections, its final wording will be drafted and presented for reading in the Federal Assembly.

[Csontosova] The bill being prepared is to give a boost to the private enterprise of physical persons and to guarantee that the property they acquire cannot be taken away from them by anyone. Is this property somehow limited? And what about the number of employees?

[Svobodova] The property acquired by the private enterprise of physical persons is not, according to this bill, limited—neither financially nor in terms of the number of employees.

Magyar Deputies Criticize Minority Discrimination

LD2802125690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Our correspondent in Prague, Evelyn Forro, has interviewed Miklos Duray.

[Begin Forro recording] In truth, it was not the Magyar minority, but democracy, which sustained a defeat in the Czechoslovak parliament when, disregarding a request by the nationalities, the new election law was adopted, deputy Miklos Duray said. To my question, he said that Jozef Kucerak, one of the members of the coordinating committee of the Slovak movement Public Against Violence, had threatened to expel him from parliament because of his contribution in defense of the minorities.

Two other deputies of Magyar nationality, Gyula Popely and (Erika Vitez), reaffirmed that the atmosphere was very bad after they, in their contribution, had asked that the requirement to obtain five percent of the proportion of votes should not apply to the minorities. (Erika Vitez) received a little slip of paper on her table, on which she was told that if she does not like it here in Czechoslovakia she can go away once and for all to the other side of the Danube, the Tisza, and the Ipoly.

According to what Duray said, the deputies made crude comments on the contribution by the Magyars. The three deputies sent the Hungarian radio correspondent the text of the remarks and from this it emerges unequivocally that they were not grumbling, but that they were urging equal rights for the minorities, on behalf of the oft-mentioned democracy. Historian Gyula Popely called attention to the fact that the political groupings organized on a nationality basis are consciously being pushed into disadvantageous situations. All of them are of the opinion, after what happened, that state totalitarianism is again taking shape in Czechoslovakia. [end recording]

Hungarian Workers Federation Condemns Nationalism

AU2802171190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Feb 90 p 2

[Statement issued by the CSEMADOK Central Committee Presidium; place and date not given: "A Condemnation of Nationalism"]

[Text] The changes that have taken place in our society in recent months have liberated us from totalitarian power and have enabled us to make the transition toward democracy. They have also created conditions for the revival of CSEMADOK [Cultural Federation of Hungarian Workers in Czechoslovakia]. A prospering free and democratic society has established the essential conditions for Hungarians in Czechoslovakia to undergo self-realization as a people. They can contribute toward elevating Czechoslovakia's society, economy, and culture by making use of all their spiritual and physical

abilities in a creative and free environment. Therefore, we sincerely believe that democracy will eventually ensure the coexistence of the nations and national minorities in our homeland and that Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Germans, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Jews, and Romanies will live next to each other as free, equivalent, and equal citizens, as citizens who desire the development of their common homeland. The final documents from the CSCE and from the Vienna followup meeting bind us to this.

The first days of the revolution fortified us in this spirit, but we cannot remain silent as manifestations of intolerance disturb us.

Those extreme manifestations of a nationalist and racist character—manifestations which are becoming more and more impassioned and which threaten the smooth running of social and economic life—are particularly disturbing. We think it is necessary to warn the public of this since such conflicts only play into the hands of those demagogic and conservative forces which did not want, and still do not want, the democratic restructuring of our society and which would thwart us on our way toward a common European home.

Therefore, the CSEMADOK Central Committee Presidium appeals to all its members to strengthen our homeland's unity and, together with democratic forces among the Czech and Slovak nations, to condemn any form of nationalistic manifestations and to distance themselves from all possible forms of provocation. Let us struggle against manifestations already well known from history, manifestations which pursue the aim of diverting attention away from the problems and tasks of social life by whipping up nationalistic passions.

We fully support the new Federal Assembly, the Slovak National Council, and the Government of National Understanding in their endeavor to bring our country among those states that are governed according to the rule of law. We intensely support the endeavor to establish a real federation and we reject any phenomena that would disrupt Czechoslovakia's unity.

We appeal to every citizen of our homeland to participate in joint activities and ideas and to carry out honest work with the conviction that only in this way will we achieve the aims outlined by the gentle revolution and establish a state based on real legal foundations.

Journal Editor Comments on Romany Minority

LD2102162590 Prague CTK in English 1359 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 21 (CTK)—"If I compare the position of Romanies in Czechoslovakia and abroad, I must objectively admit that, despite certain reservations, Romanies have a better position in our country," Vincent Danihel, editor-in-chief of the first Romany journal LACHO LAV (Good Word) which has been recently formed in Czechoslovakia, told newsmen here today.

He said that in the changed political conditions in Czechoslovakia new Romany organizations are being set up, e.g. the Democratic Union of Romanies in the Czech Socialist Republic and the Romany Civic Initiative which aim at equalizing Romanies and other inhabitants in Czechoslovakia. "The Romany movement has arrived at a stage at present when it is able to have its own qualified cadres, teachers, psychologists and lawyers at its head," Vincent Danihel stated, adding that he is convinced that it will speed up the Romany integration process to a great extent.

Irrespective of the conditions in which the Romany nation lived, it has developed and always striven to preserve its own culture, traditions and language, Danihel stressed. In Czechoslovakia the Romany intelligentsia has developed and expressed more and more often their dissatisfaction with the position and rights of Romanies, he said.

The Romany official went on to say that the journal uses the Romany, Czech and Slovak languages and serves to improve knowledge of the Romany language. Under preparation is a Czech-Romany dictionary and a textbook of Romany, Vincent Danihel concluded.

CPSL's Weiss Denies Press Monopoly Charge

AU0103150890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Feb 90 p 1

["(GC)"-signed report: "Will PRAVDA Become a Joint Stock Company?"]

[Text] Bratislava (From our own correspondent)—On 27 February Peter Weiss, chairman of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee Executive Committee, briefed participants at a regular CPSL Central Committee news conference on the outcome of the second CPSL Central Committee session and on several other topical issues.

In connection with a report discussed at the session, P. Weiss stressed that the Communists' main task is to turn the party into a political force which will manage to effectively engage in resolving accumulated social problems and which, at the same time, will be capable of giving a new substance to the concept of socialism. He stated that a discussion on the report fully confirmed this intention. He commented that anxiety was also voiced at the session about the declining effectiveness of our national economy, which may have an unfavorable impact on the population's standard of living and on the rate of exchange of our koruna against foreign currencies. Therefore, the CPSL will orient its activity toward assisting in this sphere.

A lively discussion also centered on issues associated with the Public Against Violence movement's claim that the CPSL occupies a monopoly position in the press sector. P. Weiss responded that the CPSL does not occupy any privileged position in this sphere, not even at its special purpose plant—the CPSL PRAVDA Press

Combine. Control over the contents of the periodicals published at the plant is a matter for individual political parties or for other publishers. He also said that the groundwork has now been completed on listing PRAVDA's property—the CPSL press combine and its components—which will subsequently be verified by the Slovak Socialist Republic Ministry of Finance. Consequently, the future set up of this combine is being oranized now. In this connection, P. Weiss stated that the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee, proceeding from negotiations between chief editors at the PRAVDA publishing house, agrees with the creation of an independent publishing house out of the current PRAVDA publishing house on the basis of a joint stock company. The CPSL would become one of the shareholders. However, this is conditional upon the approval of the appropriate legislative measures, specifically on the law on joint stock companies and, alternatively, on the press law.

Weiss: Management Review Requires Cooperation

LD1102010390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Speech by Peter Weiss, chairman of the Communist Party of Slovakia, at the Slovak National Council Presidium session in Bratislava on 8 February—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman of the Federal Assembly, esteemed deputies.

Mr. Deputy Carnogursky and Mr. Deputy Slovak Premier Ondrus put forward some issues connected with tension at many of our workplaces which, if escalated, threaten, as we all know, to destabilize our national economy and our state administration. No citizen naturally wants this and I fully support what Mr. Ondrus said a while ago.

As chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL], I have said on several occasions that our party does not identify with the slogan: the worse, the better. I think cheap demagoguery is not the best way to succeed in politics. The utmost interest of the CPSL is to prevent the growth of tension and to create conditions for approaching elections in a decent way so that they do not lead to a further decline in the standard of political behavior, but on the contrary, to its improvement. This is another reason why we would not take refuge in a "wait and see attitude." I really do not think that it would be purposeful to gain political capital from waiting to see the unsolved political problems fall on the head of the government of national understanding, as Mr. Carnogursky indicated. On the contrary, we highly appreciate the activity of this government and as much as our real political influence allows us, we want to help it to fulfill its historical mission.

The problem of tension at workplaces must be seen, in my view, in its wider political implications. The abolishment of Article Four of the CSSR Constitution by the federal government was not linked with a political agreement about the course of steps in its implementation in daily life. The situation developed differently than, for example, in Poland where political forces agreed upon a joint course of action after the abolishment of the leading role of the party. In our country, as we all remember, the leading role of the party was removed in some areas in an uncontrolled way, under pressure. In the reconstruction of parliament, national parliaments, and national councils, political agreements were reached at a roundtable and an effective mechanism for their implementation was created, the result of which is our restructured Slovak National Council. Similar agreements, however, were not reached with regard to the reconstruction of governing structures in the national economy. The civic movement Public Against Violence took upon itself the task to carry out the restructuring of managing structures. Its elements exerted pressure not only with regard to the departure of the Communist Party organizations from workplaces, in spite of the fact that a new law on political parties does not forbid the activity of political parties and movements at workplaces, but mainly with regard to recalling the senior management from their posts. It resulted in uncontrolled actions which finally made representatives of Civic Forum and Pubic Against Violence, Mr. Pithard and Mr. Knazko, speak on television and make their well-known statements.

Prior to these statements, nobody asked the leadership of the CPSL to cooperate in the issues of restructuring cadres in the national economy. Its standpoint has been, however, known from the beginning, from the extraordinary CPSL congress. We called for the conclusion of a political agreement at the highest level about a joint withdrawal of the organizations of the CPSL and of the Public Against Violence from workplaces. We never rejected cooperation in recalling discredited or incompetent senior managers. We have rejected and we shall reject only one thing: that in contradiction to the proclaimed principles of professional competence, ethical irreproachability, and the freedom of political conviction, people were recalled from their posts solely due to their political membership or on the basis of the hello effect—whether a consultant was liked by his nurses or not. [sentence as heard] These very practices, behind which is hidden the desire of various usurpers to push through their personal interests, are in my view, the main source of tension at our workplaces.

I am, naturally, well aware of the fact that the cadre policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] was deformed, that as a result of the nomenclature system one of the conditions of professional and social advancement was membership in this party. Many citizens who were unwilling to join the CPCZ had their professional and political careers halted and this was justifiably thought to be unjust. On the other hand, as a logical result, a great number of experts from various areas concentrated on the CPCZ. This situation has risen historically and is a fact which should not result in anger, and individual experts-communists are not to be blamed

for it. Therefore, in every situation and at every time it must be considered how recalling a senior manager or his replacement will affect the operation of a workplace under his management. The purpose of the replacement is to make the moral atmosphere at workplaces healthier and increase their performance, and not the creation of new injustices, an atmosphere of fear, or settling accounts, actual conditions that lead to the decline of work discipline and the efficiency of management.

I agree with Mr. Deputy Carnogursky that at some workplaces old mafias still exist and they are linked with the redistribution of funds and the exchange of various services and their repayments. I have traveled much around Slovakia. I spoke to the CPSL members who confirmed this fact. On the other hand, I also agree that new mafias are coming into existence which are trying to seek new political protection. Only with joint effort is it possible to do away with these structures which are the cause of so much evil.

I would like to assure you, Mr. and Mrs. Deputies, that the leadersip of the CPSL today does not have at its disposal the levers provided by the nomenclature system and is simply unable to recall its members from managerial posts by decisions of its party body. In addition, neither I nor my colleagues in the leadership wish for such levers because the nomenclature system has caused a lot of damage to society and the party which I lead, and we have had enough of it. Also, many primary organizations have left workplaces. Therefore, it is impossible to use immediate influence to recall discredited and incompetent leading managers, many of whom have already managed to leave the CPSL.

I think that it is not necessary to ascribe to the CPSL today the power and the possibility to be able to intervene in a problem's solution by an order from above. These problems can and must be tackled by the working collective on its own with the help of trade unions and the council of working people in harmony with the relevant laws still in power.

As a party we do not want to give up our share of responsibility for the further development of our society. Therefore, as you could have read in the press, we have suggested to the coordination committee of the Public Against Violence an agreement about concurrent and joint withdrawal from workplaces. We have pointed out the broader reasons which led us to this. As a party we want to see the creation of conditions, by a joint effort of the political forces and the government, for calming the situation at our workplaces. In this direction I fully support the proposal put forward by Mr Deputy Premier Ondrus. We do not support it because it suits our party interests, but because it is really in the interests of Slovak society.

CPCZ Foreign Aid Figures Released

LD0103120190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] According to the data of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] press center, the CPCZ was granting on average about 50 million korunas annually in aid to partner parties abroad and to national liberation movements. The aid was granted on the basis of requests of these parties and the sums were approved by top party organs.

Eight Parties Listed Under Civic Forum Umbrella

AU0103103590 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Without Substantial Changes?"]

[Text] Prague— "Opposition in Bulgaria has been operating officially since December," A. Yordanov, from the Union of Democratic Forces, said at a meeting with journalists yesterday. The union associates 13 organizations (among them the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Union) and its main aim is to ensure a peaceful transition from the totalitarian system toward democracy.

The next part of the news conference of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center was devoted primarily to the preparation of elections to supreme representative bodies. In the morning these issues were discussed by the Council of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center, expanded by representatives of regional civic forums and by representatives of political parties and movements operating within the Civic Forum's framework. As J. Ryslinkova, spokesperson for the Civic Forum Coordinating Center, said, there are eight of them: The Christian Democratic Party, the Czechoslovak Social Democracy, Obroda [Revival], the Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative, the Civil Liberties Movement, the Left Alternative, the All-European Union, and the Civic Democratic Alliance. Their candidates, together with, most likely, three independent candidates in each instance, will also figure on the Civic Forum's joint lists of candidates for the forthcoming elections.

P. Kucera spoke about election issues in greater detail. Referring to the new election law, he said that it is currently being discussed by the Federal Assembly's Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee: "Even though there are tumultuous debates about every paragraph, it seems that the draft law will be approved without any substantial changes," he said in this context, adding that the discussion will probably be wound up on 26 February. In drawing up its lists of candidates, the Civic Forum will consider the interests of three groups—regions, political parties, and the center.

National Front Transformed Into New Assembly

AU2702152490 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 22 Feb 90 p 1

["nel"-signed report: "The End of National Front; News Conference With Brother J. Bartoncik, LLD"]

[Text] The CSSR National Front plenum and Presidium ended their activities as of 7 February and the obligations of the CSSR National Front Central Committee were taken over by the CSSR Assembly of Representatives of Political Parties and Social Organizations. At the moment its chairman is J. Bartoncik, LLD, chairman of Czechoslovak People's Party, who, at yesterday's press conference, clarified this change in a detailed and qualified way.

He stressed, in particular, that this is not only a change of name or some administrative process. The National Front in the form in which it existed for more than four decades has lost its raison d'etre. At the time of its founding it was built on the principle of parity, as a coalition of political parties, but with the course of time it became one of the means with which totalitarian power could control society. The newly born Assembly must entirely avoid the errors and mistakes of the past. It is a platform of parties and special interest groups, civic initiatives and movements with equal rights—a platform for conducting a dialogue and freely exchanging ideas on how to explore ways toward a democratic and humanitarian society.

The establishment of the Assembly was decided by the representatives of political parties and social organizations, who also determined the basic principles of its activity: openness, a voluntary nature, equality, independence, a collective character (private citizens cannot be associated in the Assembly), a democratic consensus, a federative organization, and the principle of delegation (individual organizations send their delegates to the Assembly). On the basis of the requirements of parties or organizations specialized groups or commissions can also be formed.

Brother Dr. Bartoncik said that the Assembly has no vertical structure. It has not discussed the arrangement of the National Front at lower levels and it is therefore up to the local situation whether analogous representative organs will come into existence there. Their expediency is now becoming apparent during the reconstruction of national committees in cities and villages.

The activity of the Assembly and its commissions will be ensured by the existing National Front Central Committee apparatus, but, of course, in changed conditions and with a significantly reduced number of workers (a reduction by one-half is anticipated). This apparatus should also function as a certain political service which will provide both paid and free services of various sorts to the parties and organizations represented in the Assembly.

Genscher, Ruehe Speak on Unification

LD2802212690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1842 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Erfurt/Fuerstenwalde (ADN)—"We, as Germans, want to live in peace and freedom as well as be good neighbors with the adjoining countries in the East and the West." This was stressed by FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher at the Bavarian Free Democratic Party's traditional political Ash Wednesday rally that was taking place in Erfurt for the first time. After 18 March, the Liberals will speak out for the unity of the FRG and the GDR, including Berlin, but for nothing more. They have no territorial claims, not now or in the future, the politician underlined. The name of Germany should be forever linked with peace and freedom and democracy.

Genscher spoke in favor of national solidarity in which the area of the GDR would again become a blooming region in the heart of Europe. Economic and currency union is just as important for this as a social union so that the people receive good money for good work and the elderly citizens a secure retirement with secure pensions.

During the rally on the Cathedral Square, in which the Liberal Democratic Party's senior member, Joachim Guenther, also took part, the top Erfurt candidates of the League of Free Democrats for the People's Chamber introduced themselves.

Volker Ruehe, Christian Democratic Union [CDU] (FRG) general secretary, stated at an Ash Wednesday event of the CDU in Fuerstenwalde (GDR area Frankfurt) that a social market economy without ifs or buts is the only way to eliminate all social fears in the GDR. All defects in the social, health, and construction system, as well as in the economy, are the result of a failed planned economy, according to Ruehe, and this resulted also in the present concerns of the citizens. He gave the assurance that a policy of "national solidarity" in a united Germany, as promoted by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, will guarantee all GDR citizens secure savings and retirements and an unemployment benefit system integrated to the FRG.

Going into foreign policy questions, the CDU general secretary said, with reference to the Polish border, without making concrete statements: "The Polish neighbors also need have no worries, because we will of course have to state, once the reunification has been carried out, where the borders will be."

Green Party Says Kohl Tries 'To Buy Votes'

LD2802113890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1107 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Green Party today described Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's plan to propose an emergency aid program for the GDR together with the "Alliance for Germany" at the federal news conference on 1 March as a "bold attempt to buy votes in the GDR."

In a communication sent to ADN, the Green Party Executive said that it is now also clear why GDR Premier Hans Modrow and the opposition ministers "were sent home empty-handed." The federal German Christian Democratic Union and its chairman, Kohl, are obviously concerned not with the well-being of the people in the GDR but "only with clumsy party tactical maneuvers before the election deadline." Clearly, the Bonn government is worried about the electoral success of its artificially installed GDR subsidiary, the Green Party stressed.

Gysi on Unification, Regional Issues

AU2302122290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Feb 90 p 2

[Interview with Party of Democratic Socialism Chairman Gregor Gysi by Claus Duemde; place and date not given: "Hope and Concern of the Neighbors"]

[Text] [Duemde] In Erfurt, Helmut Kohl was waging the election campaign as "chancellor of all Germans" while at the same time Gysi was speaking in Paris. Do the two things fit together?

[Gysi] The big difference is that in Paris I did not hold an election speech, that is, I did not interfere in France's internal affairs. Furthermore, it became clear that there are also such questions in the GDR that concern and interest not only the Germans but also the neighboring peoples in Europe.

[Duemde] At the symposium at the Sorbonne you were applauded for your position of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] for a "European Germany, not a German Europe."

[Gysi] This shows that approval can be achieved if the German question is linked with the interests of other peoples from the very start. On the other hand, politicians who are looking for an isolated, special German way are contributing to making our neighbors uncertain. And this is precisely what should be avoided.

[Duemde] All the speakers in the debate were invited by the French prime minister. Did you have bilateral talks?

[Gysi] I used the opportunity to exchange views with various politicians from Eastern and Western countries. Mostly, the topic was the German question. This also applies to brief talks with Michel Rocard and Willy Brandt. On 21 February, I had an extensive talk with Jean-Louis Bionco, the Elysee Palace secretary general. There we discussed all questions that are linked with the two German states getting closer together. I explained the PDS' positions and I noted with interest the French opinion.

[Duemde] Were there any points of contact?

[Gysi] In all talks it became clear that there are hopes but also concerns as regards the further development in the GDR and the two German states getting closer together. It is important to take these concerns seriously. And in this respect there were, in fact, not only some points of contacts but even common views.

[Duemde] You also met with Georges Marchais, French Communist Party [PCF] general secretary. What did you talk about?

[Gysi] In this talk, too, the German question was discussed. The PCF positions are clear: It proceeds from the Germans' right to self-determination, but it demands that the security interests of other peoples are strictly taken into consideration. In the party's view, this makes it necessary to shape the process of getting closer together over the long term, level-headedly, and step by step. If the two German states are united, neutrality and disarmament in the spirit of gradual demilitarization are necessary.

In addition, we naturally exchanged views on the history and future of relations between the PCF and the PDS.

'Transitional Stage' in Currency Union Urged

LD2802133190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1210 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—A treaty on a German-German currency union should present the opportunity of a transitional phase, in which both sides could take the adjustment measures necesssary for an orderly unification process. Minister Dr. Walter Romberg, GDR delegation head in the joint commission of experts for the preparation of a currency union and economic community, has indicated this in an interview with the GDR Government press agency. In his view, it would be ideal if alternative proposals were submitted by the commission before the People's Chamber elections, to be decided on by the new government "and to enable it without delay to enter into negotiations on this with the Federal Government."

According to Minister Romberg, it is important for an orderly unification process so "that the safeguards that our people have worked out for themselves are carried over in an appropriate and acceptable form into the new structures." Furthermore, in the formation of a new social network for GDR citizens, there should also be examination of the extent to which models not only from the FRG but also from other countries could be exploited, at least in a transitional phase. [passage omitted]

Siegert Discusses New Joint Stock Companies

LD2802223190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1636 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Publicly owned GDR combines can be turned into joint stock companies in the future. A relevant application was considered by the Council of Ministers today. This was announced by acting Finance Minister Dr. Walter Siegert today at a meeting of the relevant People's Chamber committee in Berlin.

The Council of Ministers also discussed the status of municipal budgets. It is planned to make local authorities responsible for their own finances. However, 2 billion marks of central grants are needed for a debt-free start to local budgets for the close of 1989, the finance minister said.

New Group Promotes Commercial Ties With FRG

LD2802130590 East Berlin ADN International Service German 1050 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The "New Trade Forum—Society for Economy Mediation," which has now started its activities, is to deal with contract mediation, company consultation, and communications concerns between East and West.

The German-German firm sees itself as a consultation society "for almost all corporate problems." It aims to help enterprises with their image by means of market and structural analyses, to support GDR firms to set up or reorganize, and to offer training courses and programs.

The "New Trade Forum" is a joint venture between the Trimedia Public Relations AG of Frankfurt am Main and New Forum economic advisers Dr. Klaus Brandenburg and Michael Goebel.

FRG Energy Firms To Transfer Technology

LD2102222190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1743 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Energy enterprises from the GDR and FRG will work together in the future in the transfer of know-how and technology and in cross-border supplies, especially in the case of electrical energy and gas. This was agreed by the bilateral economic commission's energy study group, which met today in Berlin under the chairmanship of the State Secretaries Dr. Jochen Kratzke of the GDR Ministry of Heavy Engineering and Dr. Dieter von Wuerzen of the FRG Federal Economics Ministry.

The body regards the joint construction and operation of plants with the latest environmental and safety technology as a further field of work. The partners also discussed improved utilization of resources, rational use of energy, and measures to reduce environmental pollution.

Passenger Shipping to FRG Begins

LD2102223690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1921 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Bonn (ADN)—Passenger shipping between the FRG and GDR is to be allowed from 1 March. A

relevant agreement was signed in Bonn on 21 February by the intra-German transport commission. Maritime passenger ships and inland shipping will be allowed to operate on all waterways and sea routes and other permitted waters. [passage omitted]

Association of Property Owners Forms

LD2102222590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1741 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (West)—An "Association of Owners of Property in the GDR, registered society" was founded today in Berlin (West). A press statement conveyed to ADN says the association aims to implement the recognition of the rights of former owners and other persons who lay claim to property on GDR territory. Legal advice and help for the former owners and establishment of an arbitration office is planned for that purpose. It is to serve the balancing of the interests of the "legal owners and owners of the properties." [passage omitted]

Modrow on Role of Army in National Renewal

LD2802203590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1934 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—To mark the 35th anniversary of the National People's Army (NVA), GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow has thanked all Army members, civilian employees, and reservists for their dedicated fulfillment of duty and commitment to the GDR's external protection.

He further states in a message that the highest dictate of GDR military policy remains the aim of "doing everything to preserve peace, promote cooperation with all states, overcome the system of military deterrence, and achieve joint security in Europe." As a Warsaw Pact member, the GDR works with its alliance partners toward this.

"The National People's Army is an army of the entire people," it adds. "It has—like other social forces—taken part in the renewal of our country and made an independent contribution to this."

In the new phase of the GDR's development, reliable work in the training and fulfillment of tasks, and also in the preparation and implementation of disarmament steps, as well as confidence- and security-building measures, are expected of the Armed Forces in the military reform.

Politicians, Others Sign Demilitarization Letter

LD2803230190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1849 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A "Letter From Berlin," which contains a seven-point plan for the demilitarization of the GDR, was signed today in Berlin by politicians, members of the military, scientists, artists, church representatives, and representatives of the peace movement. They met for a meeting of the 89 Appeal signatories and sympathizers.

The 89 Appeal initiators in December called for a courageous and fantastically imaginative step to give the world proof of the power of reason by means of the GDR's unilateral and complete military disarmament by the year 2000.

The adopted letter first envisions the creation of political and constitutional conditions for referendums on the GDR's alliance membership, the scrapping of military conscription, and a demilitarized status for the GDR. Second, the establishment of a disarmament and conversion program is suggested.

Defense Minister Discusses Army Reform

AU2802144990 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 28 Feb 90 p 4

["Ws."-signed report: "Stopping the Dissolution of the Army"]

[Text] Berlin, 27 February—GDR Defense Minister Admiral Hoffmann (Party of Democratic Socialism) urgently asked the central roundtable to help make sure "that the Army's currently emerging dissolution, which for its part contributes to instability of the situation in the country, is stopped." The firing of soldiers who are loyally doing their basic military service must not be permitted. This is "a violation of their rights and of the law." Demands for handing over premises of the National People's Army (NVA), "often linked with threats and abuses," must not be made without taking into considerations the obligations arising from the alliance and the requirements of training. "Help us draw up and pass the necessary stipulations on social security and legal security, the lack of which contributes to the insecurity of our Army members and civilian employees, that the Army of the people does not become an object of the election campaign, and that emotional appeals cause reactions that get out of control," the defense minister asked. It is, above all, thanks to the responsible actions of the professional soldiers that no serious excesses have taken place so far, "that our own and the additionally accepted amounts of weapons and technology have not reached unauthorized hands." These weapons must not become a potential risk.

At the roundtable session, the defense minister announced a new profile of the NVA's character as the exclusively external protective organ of the GDR. This also includes the separation of such parts of the former system of national defense as the border troops, the civil defense, and the Society for Sports and Technology. The corresponding measures have been introduced, linked with considerable reductions in personnel, and should be concluded by the end of the year. The GDR border troops are to be taken out of the NVA by 31 December

and are to be made subordinate to the Ministry of Internal Affairs as border protection units. A corresponding decision by both ministries is currently being prepared for the government.

In expectation of the results of the Vienna negotiations, the GDR's NVA is to be reduced to about 110,000 men by 1995, Defense Minister Hoffmann announced. The defensive character of the new People's Army is to be expressed by renouncing tank units and operational-tactical missiles with a range of 300 km. If the CSCE process makes further progress, the transition to an army of volunteers, that is, a professional army with a total strength of about 70,000 men, is being prepared, which will then rule out any compulsory military service in peacetime.

The defense minister explained to the central roundtable the basic characteristics of the GDR military reform. An organ, which was directly pledged to the Socialist Unity Party [SED] Central Committee, has turned into a real people's army, which is only pledged to the Constitution and to the elected people's representative bodies and is open to all citizens, regardless of ideology and political affiliation. Already last December, the role of the political organs as leading party organs was abolished, the then-SED party organizations in the NVA ceased their activities. By 15 February, the Political Main Administration and the political organs at all levels had been abolished. The State Security Service's work in the NVA has also been stopped and the "Administration 2000" has been dissolved.

In the long run, a new military doctrine will be worked out in the course of the military reform, which is to be decided by the People's Chamber. The draft of a document on "Military Political Guidelines of the GDR," which has been thoroughly discussed and coordinated with the roundtable at the Defense Ministry, is available. It is necessary to legally flesh out the military reform through democratic laws, the minister continued. Therefore, apart from the draft laws on civilian alternative service and new service regulations, draft laws on compulsory military service and the course of military service have been worked out. For the time being, compulsory military service is to be maintained. In the interest of the NVA's fundamental intellectual renewal, civic work has been started in the Armed Forces. At the moment, work is being done to develop its contents and its organizational structure.

Hoffman Thanks Army, Civilian Employees

LD2802152290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1435 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—To mark the 34th anniversary of the National People's Army on 1 March, GDR Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffmann has issued an order of the day. In it he confirms that the government and the leadership of the National People's Army, in agreement with the roundtable and the great majority of the people, will do all in their power to guarantee the state's sovereignty, and security and stability in the country. The Army personnel should be confident that the state highly values their service for the protection of peace and of the fatherland. Similarly, he expected in this difficult situation that they will faithfully and conscientiously fulfill their constitutional duty. The Army, too, is the people, and the people should be able to rely upon its Army. The defense minister thanked all Army personnel and civilian employees for fulfilling their duty.

FRG Defense Commissioner Visits Barracks

AU2702113590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Feb 90 p 3

[ADN report: "FRG Defense Commissioner Visits GDR Barracks"]

[Text] Bad Salzungen—For the first time, a FRG Bundestag defense commissioner has visited a GDR barracks. Willi Weiskirch arrived at the motorized rifle regiment "Anton Saefkow" in Bad Salzungen on a fact-finding visit. There have been statements that the defense commissioner wants to familiarize himself primarily with the changes within the National People's Army that have taken place since the democratic renewal in the GDR.

Generals Kill Themselves; Admiral Tries Suicide

AU2702121090 Hamburg BILD in German 27 Feb 90 p 5

[Report by H. Schulz and P. Brinkmann: "Gas! Modrow's General Poisoned Himself"]

[Excerpts] Dresden—Colonel General Erich Boehm (52), an old friend of GDR Premier Hans Modrow, poisoned himself with gas in the kitchen of his villa.

Boehm was State Security Service chief in Dresden. Modrow had been first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Area leadership for 16 years. "The two men shared power; they were like identical twins," a former associate of today's head of government says. [passage omitted]

When the State Security Service was abolished, Boehm lost power; he became persona non grata. Modrow did not help him. [passage omitted]

On 21 February, the general, who was also threatened with a trial for abuse of office and corruption, turned on three gas taps in his kitchen. Said the military prosecutor: "It was a clear suicide. The dead man was found by his wife." [passage omitted]

Yesterday it became known that Major General Gerhard Lange (55), Boehm's colleague in Suhl, also committed suicide. He shot himself with a hunting gun in the garden of his house.

And in Straussberg near East Berlin, Admiral Guenter Kutzschebauch (59) tried to hang himself on a window cross-piece. His wife saved him at the last moment.

Now the deputy chief of the GDR People's Navy (140 ships) is in a hospital, suffering from brain damage. The accusations against him: expensive trips abroad paid from the Navy's budget.

Committee Shows Stasi Continues Work

AU2602155390 Hamburg BILD in German 24 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "GDR Citizens, Be Careful! There Is Evidence That Stasi Work Continues Unabated"]

[Text] East Berlin—As the GDR freedom elections are approaching, Erich Honecker's Stasi [State Security] legionnaires continue to stand ready for action—in secret command bunkers, in conspiratorial cooperation with the current government apparatus.

Participants in the roundtable of East Berlin by accident discovered a list with place-names all across the GDR. A total of 63 "objects" were listed—all of them secret Stasi nests.

Accompanied by state prosecutors, the "Berlin Citizens' Committee" began its search: "What we discovered was a great shock. Nothing has been dissolved, and the people have once again been cheated."

In their protocol on the secret Stasi base, Prenden, they noted:

Desired state: According to Colonel Vogel of the National People's Army, it is a "sleeping object." Military use only in the case of emergency. The Interior Ministry took over the parts of the intelligence technology.

Real state: The building is fully operational. The guards and officers are provided by the "Office for National Security." The intelligence department is fully staffed—with former State Security Service members.

The conspicuous equipment includes a remote-controlled radio transmitting station (for transmitting coded messages; the editors). Moreover, W-Ch stations (high frequency equipment for eavesdropping; the editors).

In their protocol on the building in Sophienstaedter Strasse in Biesentahl, they noted:

Desired state: Sleeping object, like the one in Prenden.

Real state: Identical with the discoveries of Prenden. Computer links to Normannenstrasse [former headquarters of State Security Office], six W-Ch stations.

On the building in Damsmuehle-Schoenwalde they noted:

Desired state: Closed-down bunker.

Real state: The technological equipment for intelligence tasks is fully operational. There is a recognizable communications link to the Office for National Security building in East Berlin's Gotlindestrasse. There is also a working field telephone connection to the duty officer in Prenden (code name "rotational speed"). Four rooms are sealed bearing a sign saying: Closed area, open only in emergency.

The state prosecutor has ordered the immediate shutdown of this bunker.

The citizens' committee investigators noted: "What is worst is that so far we have been able to discover only 40 of the 63 Stasi hideouts."

Kessler, Junker Released From Custody

LD2803225490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1620 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Former GDR Ministers Heinz Kessler (defense/former Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo member) and Wolfgang Junker (construction) have been released from investigative custody, the GDR Public Prosecutor's Office press office has announced. According to the present state of investigations, a danger of suppression of evidence no longer exists. It was added that the release was also prompted by the worsening state of health of the accused. The investigations will be concluded in the near future.

Former Combine Director Escapes to FRG

AU2402205090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Feb 90 p 3

[ADN report: "Biermann in the FRG"]

[Text] Bonn—Professor Wolfgang Biermann, former Carl Zeiss Combine director in Jena and former member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, is in the FRG. In a press release issued by his lawyers on 21 February in Berlin (West), Biermann, against whom an arrest warrant has been issued because of instigation of others to misuse their power to the detriment of socialist property, rejected the accusations leveled against him.

Former GDR Spy Chief 'Escaped' to USSR

LD2102201290 Hamburg DPA in German 1651 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Former GDR espionage chief Markus (Misha) Wolf has escaped to the Soviet Union according to a report in the SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG. It says that Wolf has to reckon with an arrest warrant in connection with the enquiries against the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's [SED] former procurer of hard currency, Alexander Schalck-Golodowski. Wolf is said to have been involved in Schalck-Golodowski's illegal arms deals, or may even have directed them.

According to the paper's information, Wolf is staying in a dacha near Moscow with his half-sister and intends to

write a book there on political events in the GDR. It is said he has two offers for this from West German publishing houses.

The former secret service chief was one of the early proponents of Gorbachev's reform policies in the GDR and thus came into conflict with the Honecker gerontocracy in the SED Politburo. An arrest warrant for Markus Wolf is still in force in the Federal Republic.

Wolf 'on Holiday'

LD2202110390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0959 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The head of intelligence at the former ministry for state security, Markus Wolf, who retired in 1987, has been on holiday in the Soviet Union since 12 February. His personal assistant, Eberhard Meier, told ADN today that Wolf is working with a Soviet publishing company on the Russian edition of his book "The Troika." He is also thinking about the events of 1989 with a view to possibly publishing a book about them. Meir thus denied a report in the SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG that claimed that Wolf had fled to the Soviet Union because he was afraid that legal action would be taken against him in connection with the Schalck-Golodkowski case. [passage omitted]

Party for Democratic Socialism Chairman Gregor Gysi said in this connection in the 23 February edition of BILD: "Yes, Markus Wolf is in Moscow, but he is coming back next week. He is writing a book in Moscow about events in the GDR. Everything else is nonsense." [passage omitted]

No Investigation of Wolf

LD2202171590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1337 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Markus Wolf, the former intelligence service chief of the then-GDR Ministry of State Security, who retired in 1987, has been in the Soviet Union on vacation with his family since 12 February. [passage omitted]

A report disseminated by Western agencies that the GDR State Prosecutor's Office intends to apply for an arrest warrant for Markus Wolf in connection with investigations against Schalck-Golodkowski is a rumor. ADN learned this today from the GDR State Prosecutor's Office press office. The State Prosecutor's Office is not conducting any investigations against Markus Wolf, it is stated.

Teterow Officials Reject Fraud Charges

AU2802175590 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 22 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Protest Against Statement by Minister Eppelmann"]

[Text] Teterow—In an open letter to Premier Modrow, the mayors and members of the state apparatus of Teterow District reject the accusation leveled at all local state organs that they manipulated the elections held on 7 May 1989. In their letter, they refer to statements made by Minister Eppelmann on 15 February on GDR Television in which he accused all local state organs of rigging the elections. The letter, which has been signed by the Council of Teterow District chairman and the mayors of 27 councils of the district's towns and villages, protests most vehemently against the statements by Minister Eppelmann. The signatories expect him to draw the necessary conclusions and to make a public statement.

Bank Chief Urges 2-Tier Banking System

LD2802124490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1143 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR should have a two-tier banking system. On the one hand, there should be commercial banks of varying forms of ownership, operating indpenedently of any central GDR financial institution. On the other hand, it is envisioned that the State Bank be liberated from its present relationship of subordination to the Council of Ministers and developed into a central bank. It should be committed to the stability and the protection of the currency.

State Bank President Horst Kaminsky announced further details of a draft amendment to the 1974 state bank law, submitted by the Council of Ministers to the members of the People's Chamber committee on budget and finances in Berlin today. Financial and credit policy should be determined in the future by monetary policy requirements on the basis of economic control of the money supply. Here the interest rate of loans and investments will play an important role. The future GDR central bank will draw on the experience of West European central banks in its work.

Under the draft amendment, cooperative banks will take over the commercial bank functions for agriculture, trade, and industry, as well as the savings banks currently directed by the State Bank. These will remain local financial establishments. [passage omitted]

ERP Loans Available for Private Enterprises

AU2602144790 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Feb 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Special ERP Loans Immediately Available"]

[Text] Private enterprises and members of the professional classes may apply immediately for loans from the special fund of the European Recovery Fund [ERP] for the financing of investments. The GDR State Bank, in agreement with the Economics Ministry in Bonn, informed all cooperative banks, savings banks, State

Bank branches, and all other credit institutions on the goals, advantages, and conditions of the loans.

The loans are intended for enterprises whose majority shareholding is owned by private persons or cooperatives and that are run as independent enterprises. This also includes joint ventures. Small and medium-sized enterprises are to be given preferential treatment.

Credits should mainly be used for establishing new enterprises, the modernization and expansion of enterprises, and for projects in the sphere of environmental protection and tourism. To finance investments, the enterprises' own resources and loans in GDR marks should be used primarily. ERP credits should be granted if projects can only be realized with difficulty without them, particularly if there is a lack of foreign currency. [passage omitted]

Conservatives Reject Constitution

LD0103111390 Hamburg DPA in German 1044 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—The conservative "Alliance for Germany," made up of three GDR parties, is opposed to a new constitution for a united Germany. "We seek the unity of Germany on the foundation of the basic law," states the election annuncement put forward by leading representatives of the alliance in Bonn today, in the presence of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] chairman, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The Bonn union supports the alliance of Democratic Awakening, the German Social Union, and the GDR CDU.

The alliance justified its position on the ground that the basic law is recognized worldwide as an exemplary democratic constitution. It should become reality for the people in the GDR as well.

In an emergency program submitted for the GDR elections in 18 March, the alliance also seeks the immediate introduction of the Deutsche mark. The objective is a currency union with an independent issuing bank. The alliance demands a guarantee for savings in a ratio of one to one. "Savings must be protected so that the work of yesterday will not have been in vain."

SPD Rejects Partnership With PDS

LD2802173990 Hamburg DPA in German 1711 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR's Social Democratic Party [SPD] has rejected the offer from the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS], the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany, for a relationship of partnership with the SPD. "We condemn any attempt by the PDS to polish up its tarnished image by means of a relationship of partnership with the SPD," SPD Manager Stephan Hilsberg stated on 28 February in East Berlin. PDS election campaign leader Andre Brie had stated on 27 February that the PDS was prepared for a relationship of partnership with the SPD. [passage omitted]

PDS Party Political Broadcast on Elections

LD2802102690

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German at 1850 GMT on 27 February broadcasts a poorly received party political broadcast by the Party for Democratic Socialism (PDS). During the program, the announcer asks participant Yvonne Kaufman if the PDS has any chance of survival. She replies that the party must go through a process of renewal, come to terms with the past, and take a critical look at itself. PDS press spokeswoman Adler then says the party's old structures have been dissolved; the trend of people leaving the party has been halted, and with 700,000 members it constitutes a large party. New political forces are now active in the PDS, she says. It is a socialist force that upholds socialist traditions in the country and wants to work together with other political forces.

Klaus Hoepcke is asked whether a GDR nation exists, and he replies that it does not exist; however, PDS members find important elements in GDR culture while at the same time being aware of the totality of German culture.

Party Chairman Gregor Gysi says it would be unthinkable for him to lead the old party, just as it would be impossible for one of the old guard to lead the new one, and that reflects the degree of renewal in the party. He says it is true that many members left because they sincerely believed the party was beyond help. The crucial point is the quality of the members who leave; figures are unimportant, but the level of contributions made by those who remain is important, and he is therefore optimistic.

The announcer remarks that he was horrified by the way the GDR population took to finding scapegoats and that Erich Honecker was arrested as soon as he left the hospital. He asks whether the party could not have dispensed with sticking to the letter of the law for once and shown some mercy. Gysi replies that the body of laws applied in this case was based on humanism, and health and other grounds play a big role in whether someone is arrested or not. The problem is that the old Socialist Unity Party of Germany interfered in every single matter, whether it concerned it or not, including judicial affairs, and Gysi himself could not afford to interfere in the legal process in this respect.

Asked about his hopes for the elections, Gysi says the PDS started at the bottom and things can only get better. He says he has no expectations concerning the elections as all the hypothesising about it is speculative. He says the PDS is not opposed to a unification process, but it does favor a sovereign GDR that can bring to bear the rights of its citizens in that unification process. Asked about Modrow's chances, he says he has no idea about

that either, but remarks that he is a frank, pleasant, honest, and trustworthy person, and a great majority of the population knows that. The party is proud of him, Gysi adds.

The announcer concludes the broadcast by saying to laughter from the participants that GDR Television accepts no responsibility for this program, rather it is the PDS' responsibility.

Statement on Fair Campaign

AU2802152290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Feb 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Statement by the Party of Democratic Socialism: For a Fair Election Campaign"]

[Text] Only three weeks are left for the voters to make their decision by which they will determine the future of our country and the future of us all. The election campaign's heated phase should not irritate the citizens; it should allow them to consider all aspects in a realistic way. The Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] will therefore keep to the following rules and asks all parties and movements to make similar statements:

We want to win over voters, we do not want to catch votes.

Therefore, we will:

—submit to the citizens our political intentions and goals publicly and without any election-tactical tricks;
—strive for confidence, not power;
—neither defame our political adversary nor impute to him dishonest intentions;
—not represent rumors and half-truths as facts;
—not disturb election rallies of others;
—not use or recognize loudness as an "argument;"
—not offend anyone, and apologize if we do so nevertheless in the heat of debates;
—not remove or distort the means of advertisement used by others, because scribbling is uncultivated;
—not carry out or tolerate a violent campaign;
—neither fan nor ignore the citizens' fears;
—not drag children into the election campaign;
—not use polemics against others who do not attack us;
—not try to acquire status at the expense of others, not strive for dissension but for consensus, and try to find common interests with those who represent identical or similar objects.

These first free elections in decades should be worthy of our peaceful revolution and should become a symbol of our young political culture and of the progress of democratization in our country.

LDP Establishes Organization in Saxony

AU2802113990 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 26 Feb 90 p 2

[Ullrich Lunze report: "Saxony Not Without Liberals"]

[Excerpts] Karl-Marx-Stadt—Nearly 38 years after its dissolution, the Saxony organization of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDP] was able to reestablish itself on 24 February. With more than 30,000 members, it is the strongest liberal force in the republic. In the presence of high-ranking figures from the Free Democratic Party of Bavaria and Baden-Wuerttemberg, Hamburg, and the German Forum Party, about 350 participants from Saxony's three areas determined their programmatic goals and their strategy for the election campaign.

They elected Dietmar Schicke, so far LDP chairman of Karl-Marx-Stadt Area, as the chairman of the region of Saxony with an overwhelming majority. Ludwig Rade (Dresden) and Uwe Rantzsch were elected as deputy chairmen. [passage omitted]

On the same day, FRG Foreign Minister Genscher was welcomed with great enthusiasm at an LDP election rally in Karl-Marx-Stadt. He stressed that he is proud of the people in his home region of Saxony-Anhalt.

Chairman Discusses Policies

LD2802103490

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German at 0902 GMT on 27 February carries the "Facing the People" program on the current GDR election campaign, including a five-minute interview with Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) Chairman Rainer Ortleb.

The announcer begins by saying that, while the popularity of acting State Council Chairman and former LDP Chairman Manfred Gerlach is falling daily, the revival of the Liberal Democrats needs new faces. Rainer Ortleb is one of them. Against a background of Beethoven music, Anja Wolf and Frank Lehmann profile Ortleb—a professor of information technology from Rostock, married with two children—and interview him on Unter den Linden after a meeting in the People's Chamber.

They say that the pressure of work is so great he is only getting an average of four hours sleep a day. He lives in a simple room and not a luxury hotel. He could sleep the four hours standing up.

His background as a mathematician is relevant to politics. Logic is needed there, too. The country has experienced enough politics without logic.

In the interview, Ortleb speaks of Frederick the Great of Prussia as a "very fair politician of his time" and "a liberal." Politics need discussion; liberals tend in this direction because of their tolerance.

He continues: "I think that, particularly under strong external pressure, liberals will need to pursue a policy that goes forward for Germany, for a sensible economy, and for the securing of all the social aspects that every person wishes and expects for himself, that this need to

achieve success will unite the liberals. And I think that what has been united under such difficult conditions will not fall apart so quickly."

The announcer concludes by describing Ortleb as a romantic and a dreamer.

'Potentialist People's Party' Established

LD2802143290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1351 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A "Potentialist People's Party" has come on the scene in the GDR and is wooing members with its objective for the benefit of all citizens. Its propositions include: All the potential of the people should serve only the good of the people in the future; we are fighting for the victory of human reason in all areas of society, the economy and the environment; we are in favor of setting up a parliamentary council for the processing of proposals, comments, and criticism from the citizens; we support the stabilization of the market at a sound level; and reject the production of flawed, uneconomical and biologically and chemically harmful substances.

Young Liberal Action Group Forms

AU2802180990 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 26 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Catarina Kennedy-Bannier report: "Liberal Youth With Respect and Tolerance"]

[Excerpts] Weimar—"Freedom requires courage" shining blue and yellow posters announced everywhere in Weimar on 24-25 February. The Young Liberal Action group JuliA [Jungliberale Aktion] presented itself. After several weeks of intensive work, the young people finally gathered for their founding congress in the State Science College hall. [passage omitted]

The most prominent FRG guest attending the JuliA congress was Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who was welcomed with frantic applause. He was asked to open the congress. "I think that the name JuliA that you have chosen is a wonderful name. And freedom is the most wonderful thing that one can support," the FRG foreign minister stated at the beginning of his speech.

It was a liberal speaker in Halle who induced him in 1946 to embark upon the path of political decisions, who made it clear to him that liberalism is the most comprehensive alternative to any form of enslavement. We are constantly confronted with a threat to freedom, such as in the form of tutelage and the suppression of people that must be fought with steadfastness and courage for all time. Freedom cannot survive if one just makes use of freedom and lets others struggle for its implementation. For this reason, he congratulates the GDR's Young Liberals on their willingness to advocate liberal principles.

The speeches of the chairmen of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, the German Forum Party, and the Liberal Party of Germany who assured the young people of their moral support were also greeted with approval and applause. The congress that was characterized by a surprising purposefulness and joint will from the beginning dealt at its first session primarily with the discussion of the statutes that have to be adopted and the decision on the planned merger with the Young Liberals from the FRG.

There were bitter remarks that the electronic media, particularly television, had not accepted the invitation to attend the congress.

Youth Parties Plan To Form Alliance

LD2402203190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1719 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The German Youth Party (DJP), which was founded two weeks ago, will enter the GDR people's Chamber elections in alliance with the Free German Youth (FDJ) and the Marxist Youth Association. This was decided in Berlin on Saturday at the party's first national conference.

As the party's acting spokesman, Joerg Nordmann told ADN the DJP is in favor of parliamentary representation for youth, preserving and developing children's and young people's rights, and is against youth unemployment, loss of training places and educational privileges, right-wing and left-wing radicalism, and is for a "Green wave of reason." [passage omitted]

Schnur on Abolition of Short-Range Missiles

AU2602124390 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 26 Feb 90 p 4

["DW"-signed report: "Schnur: Also Abolish Short-Range Missiles"]

[Text] Berlin—GDR Democratic Awakening Chairman Wolfgang Schnur is advocating a "zero option for short-range weapons as well in Europe." In an interview with DIE WELT, the GDR politician said on 25 February: "The historic meeting of Chancellor Helmut Kohl with U.S. President George Bush is a good occasion for introducing the abolition of short-range weapons in Europe. In the same way as Kohl brought about the zero option for intermediate-range missiles, he could now give impetus to this important disarmament step, even though he will certainly have to overcome resistance in NATO. Of course, Moscow would also have to move in the same direction. Because, unfortunately, the Soviet Union has modernized these weapons until most recently."

Schnur considers the short-range weapons "obsolete." After all, the "enemy image of the past decades is gone." Schnur added: "Who can tell me today at whom the short-range weapons are to be fired? At our friends in Poland perhaps? Or at the people in the CSSR? The

peaceful revolution in East Europe has made these weapons meaningless. Therefore, I am sure that Mr. Kohl will meet with open ears on the part of the U.S. President if he makes such a disarmament proposal."

Association of Democratic Lawyers Forms

LD2402225390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2013 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Association of Democratic Lawyers (VDJ) of the GDR constituted itself today at an extraordinary delegates' conference. The members want to work for democratic aims and principles and the rule of law in a radical, democratic renewal of society. They back social security fundamentally guaranteed in law as the precondition for exercising the civil rights and liberties of every individual. The VDJ is a section of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, which is represented in over 80 countries. The delegates elected lawyer Dr. Friedrich Wolff as their chairman.

In a declaration, the delegates came out against an immediate and unconditional adoption of the FRG's legal system in the GDR. The unification of the two states must include a two-way adaptation of their legal systems on the basis of equal rights. This would, at the same time, offer the opportunity to create exemplary solutions aimed at promoting European political and economic integration.

Peace Council Forms as Part of World Movement

LD2402214190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2010 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The German Peace Council in the GDR constituted itself in Berlin on 24 February as part of the national and international peace movement. Baerbel Schindler-Saefkow, daughter of Communist Anton Saefkow, who was murdered by the fascists, was elected chairwoman. In her view, the new peace council has to turn toward people again and express the people's desire for peace to the government and, above all, to neighboring countries. [passage omitted]

Official Discusses Nation's Drug Problem

AU2802211990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Feb 90 p 12

[Interview with Eva-Maria Schneidewind, head of the Central Drug and Narcotics Office of the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, by Dieter Hannes; place and date not given: "Drugs—Food For the Trip Without Return"]

[Excerpts] [Hannes] Dr. Schneidewind, you head the Central Drug and Narcotics Office in the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, meaning the ministry's special agency for managing, ensuring, and supervising the narcotics traffic. The danger of drug abuse in the GDR has increased in recent weeks. This is illustrated by an opinion poll that shows that 30 percent of the youths interviewed would at least "try" drugs if they had a chance to do so. Does such a "try" involve a risk?

[Schneidewind] Drugs—meaning in this case cannabis, heroin, cocaine, opium, among other things—already constitute a risk to the person concerned if they are consumed once. [passage omitted]

[Hannes] Are there any indications of an incipient drug market in the GDR?

[Schneidewind] There are indications that drugs have been offered, primarily in Berlin. In addition, drugs have been increasingly seized in cross-border traffic. Throughout 1989, minimum quantities of drugs that were to be imported into the GDR were seized in 343 cases. In the first six weeks of this year, 170 such minimum quantities were seized.

[Hannes] Are there specially endangered groups?

[Schneidewind] Young people between 16 and 19 are particularly endangered, but younger adults are as well. [passage omitted]

[Hannes] Are you working together with action groups?

[Schneidewind] Yes, we try to support such groups as far as possible. These groups are composed of committed citizens of the most varied professions, doctors, welfare workers, pedagogues, to mention just a few. Educational work requires much expertise and sensitivity, and it must be learned so that the information given is not an instruction for the use of drugs. Often there is a lack of suitable educational material. Therefore, we make our comprehensive literature available to interested experts. [passage omitted]

RIAS TV Opening New Offices in 2 Cities

LD2702214190 Hamburg DPA in German 1257 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—RIAS [Radio in the American Sector] television is extending its reporting from the GDR. After East Berlin, RIAS television is now opening correspondents' offices in Leipzig and Magdeburg, the station announced today. "We have had to act swiftly and flexibly," television director Gerhard Besser said in justifying the establishment of new offices. The station is also stepping up its reporting from the GDR through so-called travel correspondents. There are at present a total of 22 RIAS editors accredited in the GDR.

Left-Wing Paper Plans New Independent Daily

LD2302224790 Hamburg DPA in German 1619 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (DPA)—There is to be a new daily newspaper in the GDR. Starting on 26 February, it will be possible to buy at all newspaper sales points in the GDR six days a week an independent edition of the left-wing alternative TAGESZEITUNG (TAZ), which is based in West Berlin. It will be produced by journalists

who formerly wrote for such GDR newspapers as JUNGE WELT or TRIBUENE.

A print run of 60,000 copies is guaranteed for the time being, which will be printed on the presses of the printer for the Party of Democratic Socialism newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. [passage omitted]

There will be close cooperation with the TAZ colleagues in West Berlin, and the greater part of the 16-page newspaper will consist of material from the West Berlin editorial desk. [passage omitted]

Higher Prices for Newspaper Announced

AU2702115790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "What Will NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Cost in the Future?"]

[Text] Dear listeners, as we informed you in our 19 February issue on page 1, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND—like all the other GDR newspapers—will have to be economically independent as of 1 April 1990. That means that as of 1 April 1990, the monthly subscription will cost 14.00 marks, the partial subscription (without the weekend issues) 11.60 marks, and the weekend subscription 2.40 marks. Every individual copy will cost 55 pfennig.

Our promise is valid: Dear readers, we want to justify your confidence and win it anew every day, with greater quality in our newspaper. Your existing subscription continues to be in effect at the new price. [sentence as published] Should you nevertheless no longer be interested in a subscription, you would have to terminate it at your post office by 9 March.

The publishers and editors

BZ AM ABEND To Publish on Sundays

LD2802094190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1614 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The BZ AM ABEND will appear 4 March for the first time as a Sunday paper. The Berliners' evening paper should be available at 1700 with new information from this weekend at vendors at all large stations and border crossings, the paper said on Tuesday.

The eight-page Sunday edition should prove attractive by providing a lot of sport, news from the same day, a quiz, entertainment, and tips concerning events in the evening.

The price after 1 March, 30 pfennig (hitherto 10 pfennig) will not exactly please the readers. And on Sunday the evening paper will cost 50 pfennig. As a consolation, the BZ AM ABEND announces that it will include on Friday a magazine in handy tabloid form, which will be available together with the paper for the same price in the afternoon at kiosks or stores.

Gerlach Receives Council of Europe Official

LD2202165390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1118 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Acting chairman of the GDR State Council, Professor Dr. Manfred Gerlach, today received Anders Bjoerck, president of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly.

Bjoerck had earlier been briefed by representatives of the roundtable and other parties and groups on democratic developments in the GDR. [passage omitted]

Bjoerck, who is on a three-day visit to the GDR at the invitation of the People's Chamber president, laid a wreath this morning at the memorial for the victims of fascism and militarism. Later today he will meet GDR Hans Modrow and Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer.

Visas for Austria No Longer Necessary

LD2802163290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1310 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Vienna-Berlin (ADN)—The compulsory visa for GDR citizens wishing to visit Austria and for Austrians wishing to travel to the GDR is to be finally abolished starting on 1 March, when the agreement to this effect approved by the two countries, goes into effect. A provisional lifting of the compulsory visa on a unilateral basis from each side, negotiated during GDR Premier Hans Modrow's visit to Vienna at the end of January, has applied since 1 February. The now-final abolition on the compulsory visa was contractually fixed in the Austrian capital on 13 February. [passage omitted]

Talks on Soviet Withdrawal Continue

LD2802123690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] The talks continue this afternoon, and, for the moment, every indication is that Soviet troops will be withdrawn from our homeland this year, or at the latest next year. Here is Elemer Csak:

[Begin Csak recording] The further round of experts' talks is continuing on the same level. The Hungarian delegation is led by State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi, and the Soviet delegation by Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboimov. The intention is to finally clarify the technical details, perhaps today, but as Bela B. Kupper, head of department at the Foreign Ministry, told NEPSZABADSAG, it is not impossible that negotiations at the highest level will also be necessary for the agreement to be signed.

So the announced date of 10 March is the desired, or probable, schedule, and it depends on the way the experts' negotiations go whether the final agreement's text can be formulated by then.

One more piece of information linked to this subject. According to the briefing by Chief of Staff Laszlo Borsits, the Soviet formations will regroup over three nights in Transdanubia, in connection with the withdrawal of troops. So the vehicle movements in the coming days do not mean a military exercise. [end recording]

General Comments on Arms Deal With Romania

LD2802155990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] The Hungarian defense minister has discussed with his Romanian counterpart in Bucharest the delivery of military technology devices. Here at home I asked Major General (Karoly Janza), the specialist ministry's economics department head, about the background of the Hungarian-Romanian arms deal:

[Begin recording] [Reporter] The Hungarian leadership earlier had reproached the Bucharest leadership for supposedly buying carrier missiles [hordozo raketak] from abroad and for entering into various nuclear arms deals; at least, this was the hearsay. Now, however, we are delivering military equipment to Romania. Is there not a contradiction here?

[Janza] I do not see a contradiction in this. Meeting the Romanian Army's needs is an internal Romanian affair.

[Reporter] Assuming that political considerations might perhaps lie behind the Hungarian-Romanian arms deal, I consider it conceivable that, for example, according to the Hungarian Defense Ministry, a takeover of power is not precluded in Romania, and in this case it is good if the Romanian Army has various weapons, the telecommunications means with which it can uncover, let us say, the signs of a possible attempt to take power.

[Janza] I do not know of political considerations.

[Reporter] And do economic considerations play a role?

[Janza] Of course there are economic considerations because, just as in the world and in Europe, here in Hungary, too, the military technology capacities are not tied down. [end recording]

Karpati Discusses Cooperation in Romania

LD2802183490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Special correspondent Zoltan Tamasi reports on the negotiations of Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati, which ended in Bucharest today.

[Begin Tamasi recording] Whatever the outcome of the elections in Romania and Hungary turns out to be, it cannot lead to the deterioration of our relations. The cooperation and friendship of the two peoples and the two armies is a matter of vital interest to both countries. This is something the future cabinets must also be aware of, replied Ferenc Karpati to the question of Hungarian Radio at the news conference he held in Bucharest.

The defense minister said the two armies' relationship had never been as good as it is now, and this is proven by the joint communique issued after the negotiations. According to this, the two armies and the two ministries agree to provide mutual information, to cooperate in the sphere of training and technical development, to establish a joint military historian committee that meets annually to debate controversial issues. Last but not least, the parties support the mutual maintenance of the memorial places, the significance of which cannot be understated in view of Arad and Sighisoara.

Romanian Defense Minister Colonel General Victor Stanculescu was also present at the news conference. To my question, he admitted that until now there has indeed been only one single Romanian general of Hunagrian ethnicity, (Istvan Oszkar). Others could be regimental commanders at the most, and there had not been many of these. Victor Stanculescu has promised that the national minorities will soon represent themselves in a suitable proportion in the officer corps, too.

The Romanian defense minister has repeatedly pointed out that his homeland will not forget the Hungarian behavior exhibited during the revolution, the support, nor the fact that it was Ferenc Karpati who was the first who, on 22 December, offered Hungarian help on the phone.

By the way, the Hungarian defense minister was received in the morning by Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman, who also expressed the Romanian leadership's readiness for the further improvement of relations.

At the end of his official program, Ferenc Karpati flew home to Hungary on a special military plane. [end recording]

Adherence to Warsaw Pact

AU2802220190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1950 GMT 28 Feb 90

["News Conference at the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/2/1990—"Hungary—therefore its army—is a party to the Warsaw Treaty due to its very geopolitical situation and has no intention to quit this treaty," stated the defence minister of the Hungarian Republic, Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, during a press conference held at the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest on Wednesday afternoon [28 February].

Attending besides Mr Karpati, who paid a visit to Romania, were Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, Romanian minister of national defence, and Pal Szuts, Hungary's ambassador in Bucharest.

Hungary is of the opinion that structural changes must be made within the Warsaw Treaty in keeping with the new political situation in Europe, changes to which my country will make its contribution so that in future the two military alliances should no longer exist, stressed the Hungarian minister. European security must be guaranteed by other means, such as the reduction of arms and troops, disconnection of attack means, the understanding on control which should guarantee the security of all countries. A balance must be struck to guarantee the security of all countries. This balance, the Hungarian minister went on, exists and any step towards changing the existing situation is thoughtless and creates the danger of confrontation. He also said that the negotiations on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Hungary were in an advanced stage and that an accord would be signed soon to allow for the complete withdrawal of those troops from the Hungarian territory sometime next year.

Referring to the Hungarian-Romanian relations, Mr Karpati stressed that the revolution opened the historic perspective of establishing relations of genuine and close friendship apt to meet the interests of the two nations. He emphasized that those relations had accumulated many problems along the years, but the course towards democracy in the two countries offered the certitude and not the illusion we had so far of solving them. In that context he pointed to the feelings of great satisfaction at the Romanian revolution, Hungary being the first country to have sent aid to Romania. Obviously, in Romania there are many problems that await a solution, among which that of the national minorities. Some are impatient but today I could see during the interviews I had with Prime Minister Petre Roman and Colonel General Victor Stanculescu that action will be taken in this direction, Minister Karpati said.

Details of Military Talks

LD2802233490 Budapest MTI in English 2204 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, February 28 (MTI)—The atmosphere of mutual confidence, sincerity, and honesty is to be developed towards improving further cooperation between the Romanian and Hungarian Armies. With the specific means at their disposal, the armies could favourably influence the development of the new friendly links between the two peoples, runs the joint communique [of] Hungarian-Romanian military talks in Bucharest on Wednesday evening [28 February].

At the invitation of Colonel-General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu, Romanian minister of national defence, Hungarian Defence Minister Ferenc Karpati, accompanied by several high-ranking military leaders, held talks with Romanian (?partners on two) occasions on Wednesday.

According to the official communique, it was stressed at the meetings with "the social and political changes in the two countries have paved the way for the continued development of relations between the two armies, which will contribute to increasing mutual confidence between the republic of Hungary and Romania. [no closing quotation mark as received]

The parties to the military talks expressed support for the maintenance of informative links between the two defence ministries and the professional meetings of army leaders at various levels. They agreed to expand exchanges between military institutes of higher education and the military press organs.

The two ministers agreed on setting up a joint military historians' committee which will meet annually to clarify misunderstandings stemming from different historic analyses. Ferenc Karpati met Prime Minister Petre Roman who spoke appreciatively about the Hungarian Army's assistance and solidarity which, together with help from the Hungarian people, contributed to the victory of the Romanian revolution. He called for more patience and understanding in treating the minority issue because the problems cannot be solved overnight.

Prior to his departure, Karpati and his Romanian partner gave a news conference in the Hungarian Embassy building. Karpati said the discussions were constructive and successful, and served well the cause the rapprochement between the two peoples.

Answering questions, the Hungarian defence minister said, "Hungary has no intention of withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, but considers it necessary to carry out changes in the organization in the interest of better adaptation to present-day requirements. The country's endeavour that the military defence blocs be dissolved in the foreseeable future does not run contrary to this. We see a possibility for abolishing these military alliances, but it is indispensable to set up a new European security system in order to guarantee security, reduce troops and armaments to a considerably lower level and dismantle offensive weapons," Karpati said.

In his brief statement, Stanculescu praised the atmosphere of the talks and the favourable cooperation developed with Hungarian Army leaders. He said the minorities should also be represented in the Romanian Army

leadership, and decisions on this question are to be taken shortly in accordance with the democratic principles.

Headed by Ferenc Karpati, the Hungarian delegation returned to Budapest in the evening.

Karpati 'Satisfied' With Talks

LD0103092690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] According to the indications, the lightning visit to Bucharest by the Hungarian defense minister has improved Hungarian-Romanian relations. Our correspondent, Peter Marvanyi, who accompanied Ferenc Karpati, has prepared a report on the trip:

[Marvanyi] Ferenc Karpati was very satisfied when he stood up from the negotiating table. They managed to release a joint communique; indeed, in this communique the Romanian partner included a passage praising the role of the Hungarian Army and the Hungarian Ministry of Defense during the December revolution:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] Throughout the talks, it was possible to feel that this meeting was of an entirely different spirit than previously.

[Marvanyi] You expressed your views on the transformation of the Warsaw Pact. In this matter, you found a partner—moreover in matters that do not appear to have been decided yet in Moscow.

[Unidentified speaker] The essence is that the sovereignty of every participating country should be better expressed, every member country should have the sovereign right to decide in every basic issue, regarding the army. Their parliaments and governments should be consulted more in the future. [end recording]

[Marvanyi] That, in diplomatic jargon, the talks really took place in an atmosphere of confidence is indicated by the fact that together with my official colleague, we could remain in the hall throughout the talks. What was of most interest for the Hungarians in the words of Colonel-General Victor Stanculescu was his statements about the Romanian Army, which once existed in Hungarian public opinion as some sort of enormous, frightening armada. Now, the real situation is that this army in recent years virtually dealt more with national economic tasks than with wielding weapons. At times, 82,000 soldiers have worked, for example, in agriculture, on the Danube canal, on the Bucharest metro, on the (Calac) foundry, and in the mines. Now, the soldiers are returning to their bases. Like the Hungarian one, the Romanian Army must be smaller, but more modern in the future. The new doctrine is expressly of a defensive character. Another important point: In the western part of Romania, there are now only as many border guards as in the other border areas.

Forum's Antall Concludes Visit to France

LD2802105790 Budapest MTI in English 2102 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Paris, February 27 (MTI)—Jozsef Antall, president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), has ended his visit to Paris and left for Bonn.

On Tuesday, Antall met Jacques Chirac, president of the rassemblement pour la Republique (RPR) party and mayor of Paris, held talks at the Chamber of Commerce, and attended a lunch given by the Federation of French Industrialists.

Speaking at the following news conference, Antall said he had met with leaders of the most influential parliamentary parties who showed great interest in the political situation in Hungary, the approaching elections and HDF's political plans.

In connection with the parliamentary elections, Antall pointed out a clear picture about the power relations would be provided by the second round of elections as, according to public opinion polls, a major proportion of electors have not yet decided for whom to cast their ballots.

Concerning the possibility of a coalition to be formed after the elections, Jozsef Antall said the political picture was likely to undergo significant changes over the next 4 or 5 years, and the important political formations and parties would emerge with the crystallization of processes.

Meets Chancellor Kohl

LD2802185990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl has received Jozsef Antall. Gyorgy Bernath reports from Bonn:

[Begin Bernath recording] Jozsef Antall, Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] chairman, was a guest for more than one hour today in the Bonn office of Helmut Kohl. At the meeting, the chancellor stated that the FRG has an interest in the democratic transformation in Hungary, as well as in seeing Hungary as an equal participant in the process of European unity. The chancellor, as well as Jozsef Antall's other negotiating partners, unequivocally expressed his intention to provide further help for Hungary. The chancellor assured the Democratic Forum, which stands close to West German Christian Democracy, of personal support in every sphere. He wished the MDF, as well as the Christian Democratic People's Party and the Independent Smallholders, success in the elections. He promised his personal help for the period that follows these, inasmuch as the Forum achieves satisfactory results.

Jozsef Antall informed journalists about this at a new conference. In Bonn today, the MDF chairman gave a talk to the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, which fosters close intellectual relations with Christian Democracy. He said, inter alia, that prior to the elections they are not deciding on partners for a possible government coalition,

but the MDF has already excluded the socialists from a future, conceivable coalition. The Forum accepts being described by the [Alliance of] Free Democrats as a right-of-center party, but it cannot accept being accused of nationalism or of cooperation with communist power. At this point, Jozsef Antall said that national values, together with human rights, cannot be out of fashion at the end of the 20th century, especially in a region not pampered with national independence in the past centuries. It is of basic importance to preserve the Hungarian people's awareness of national identity. The MDF wishes to promote this only amid a democratic parliamentary framework, not mixed up with nationalism.

Among the Forum's foreign policy ideas, Jozsef Antall also said that what is happening in the USSR is of determining significance; he argued in favor of correct relations with Moscow. He added that a primary condition of this is for the Soviet troops to be withdrawn from Hungary. [end recording]

National Assembly Continues Session

LD2802130190 Budapest MTI in English 0859 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 28 (MTI)—Parliament began its second day's session at 9 am on Wednesday.

Speaker Lajos Horvath announced that the bills involving the modification of the constitution, such as the representation of national minorities, the change of the army's name and the election of a president of the republic, could be passed only on Thursday, since the legal, administrative and judicial committee of the National Assembly had not yet completed discussion of the proposals.

Therefore, the agenda had to be modified as follows:

The Wednesday session began with continuing the debate on the amendment to the education law. The next item will be the debate on the control and structure of the system of social security.

Warsaw Pact Discussion

LD2802144490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1316 GMT 28 Feb 90

["Remarks" by Deputy Janos Seboek at the National Assembly session in Budapest, with introduction by Chairman Istvan Fodor—live relay]

[Text] [Fodor] Our next agenda point is the independent motion of our fellow deputy, Janos Seboek: the discussion of the National Assembly draft resolution on the designation of a representative to the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Body. The draft resolution has already been distributed under No. 485, but to be on the safe side it has been distributed again at the present session's start. I ask fellow Deputy Janos Seboek if he wishes to make a verbal supplement. Yes. He has leave to speak.

[Seboek] Yes, esteemed National Assembly [NA]. I think I am not alone among the deputies who have established that in the field, in certain fields of state life in the country, it is not rules of law but laws of custom that are asserted. For me, incidentally, this was brilliantly illustrated by what was said by those concerned before the defense examining committee.

Such a field is the Warsaw Pact, too, which is an international organization, and its highest body, the political consultative body. Because here, too, on the basis of customs, the country's authorized representative used to be the party's first or general secretary, and if I were to put the question that was put by fellow Deputy Tallossy on numerous occasions at the defense examining committee session, that, alright, that is how it used to be, but what was its legal basis?—I think no one could answer this for me. Because, after all, the country's authorized representative is not designated to this high body on the basis of a rule of law.

Well, then, if we want to proceed in the direction of constitutional statehood, then I believe we have to begin to bring order in every field. That is why I proposed that the NA should designate the representative in a resolution. As to (?whom) I recommended and why, I do not wish to repeat it, I have formulated it in precise terms in justifying the draft resolution that lies before you.

However, I have to tell you that when I submitted this proposal in December and I spoke about this at the two committees' joint session, the defense committee and the foreign affairs committee, at that time I was still proposing that the NA entrust to the authorized representative the task of transforming this predominantly military organization into a political organization.

I proposed that this should be the authorized representative's first and most important task, to urge this.

By now, however, time has overtaken this, in my opinion, because historical events have happened in the organization's member countries, so that now I can only propose that the NA entrust the authorized representative to work to see that this organization should cease to exist this year. This is because, my esteemed fellow deputies, events are known to you, and I do not say anything new if I say that on 18 March, after the elections in the GDR, when in my opinion it is absolutely certain that the opposition parties will take power, the unification of the two states will occur very quickly. And this means that the GDR must leave this organization.

Well, if this happens, and if this organization breaks up in the main strategic direction, then I believe there is no need for us to maintain it in the strategic side directions as well.

I had to tell you this, for the sake of completeness, and I propose, independently of this, because what I have said is only a side issue but a very important one, I propose that you vote for the draft resolution. I also add that the

voting for and the adoption of the draft is recommended by the aforementioned two committees as well. Thank you for your attention.

Chairman on Representation

LD2802145190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1323 GMT 28 Feb 90

["Remarks" by National Assembly Chairman Istvan Fodor at the session in Budapest—live relay]

[Excerpt] [Fodor] I inform the deputies that the defense committee and the foreign affairs committee have discussed the independent motion, and both committees recommend that it be adopted. I ask my fellow deputies whether anyone wants to make a contribution. It appears that no one wishes to. Now follows the passing of a decision. I ask the esteemed National Assembly whether it adopts the National Assembly draft resolution on the designation of the authorized representative to the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Body. Let us vote.

[Reporter] According to this, in the future the republic's president will represent our country, as the Republic of Hungary's authorized representative, in this body. The president's deputy will be the Council of Ministers chairman. Naturally, this is of interest only as long as the body, that is the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Body, still exists. The deputies have reached a decision with 202 votes in favor. Istvan Fodor has not yet announced this because he is consulting with National Assembly General Secretary Istvan Soltesz.

[Fodor] I state that the National Assembly has adopted the motion by Deputy Janos Seboek. [passage omitted]

Education Law Loses Round

LD2802143990 Budapest MTI in English 1312 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 28 (MTI)—Parliament has not passed the amendment to the Education Law of 1985.

Since this is a constitutional law, passing the bill would have required two-thirds of MPs to have been 'ayes'.

As it turned out, too many MPs were absent, partly because of various committee sessions being held simultaneously.

The bill attracted 34 'no' votes and 35 abstentions. The 229 'yes' votes were not sufficient for the modification to be carried. Had it been passed, the amendment would have allowed private entrepreneurs to get involved in education by setting up private schools. The bill is also aimed at extending the independence of universities and colleges.

After the Ballot, Peter Horn, MP for Somogy Country, said parliamentary committee sessions should not be allowed to coincide with debates on constitutional laws.

He recommended as re-run of the vote on Thursday morning.

As the motion was approved by the National Assembly, the final decision will now take place on Thursday.

Bartha Addresses Assembly

LD2802201290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1403 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Report by Hungarian National Bank President Dr. Ferenc Bartha at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly, at the end of 1988, I had the opportunity to inform you about the country's financial situation, and about the work that we began, for the purpose of reexamining the supply of monetary and financial information. We have now submitted two documents, one that contains retrospective information about our external and internal financial data, as well as, in close coordination and consistently with this, the Hungarian National Bank's balance for 1989. I do not wish to dwell on the reasons for previously concealing data on debts that, partly as a consequence of this, appeared when data was continuously supplied. We have informed parliament with the reexamined data, and we have supplied similar information to international financial institutions and banks; I must say they noted with a feeling of reassurance that along with underreporting the debts—which can be traced back to political reasons—we were able to eliminate the inaccuracies stemming from methodological reasons with which the National Bank and all the suppliers of financial data have struggled for long years.

At the same time, they took cognizance of this with a feeling of reassurance, not least because the medium-term changes in the earlier stated and publicized debt-servicing burdens had not taken place owing to the readjusted data, and in the meantime there had been growing concern last year that economic policy in 1989 would slacken to a great extent, as the result of a process that began in the second half of 1980. [as heard] They were very concerned because they were skeptical that amidst such a great historical, political transformation the country would have the strength to halt this slackening and to implement this readjustment.

In truth, it was in the middle of last year that, through government leadership and extensive support from parliament, the process of readjustment began. As as result of this, at the beginning of this year we managed to reach the point of having compiled by 1990 a trustworthy, fulfillable program that enjoyed the international financial world's trust. A very great role in this was played by the people's understanding and the political parties' open or covert support. This program is that which constitutes the basis for the agreement to be concluded with the IMF, which the directing council will approve on (?14) March. Included in this agreement are only elements that figure in the package of measures with the knowledge and awareness of parliament, government, and the Hungarian public.

The readjustment rests on three pillars. One pillar concerns wages regulation. Another concerns measures to liven up and expand supply. The third pillar concerns taking the reform process further. Most of the measures are painful and difficult. Action has been taken on a good number of them, but throughout the year it is necessary to consistently adhere to the decided guideline, whose key point is the improvement of the state sphere, the budget, which must take place in 1990.

I would like to describe, by means of one figure, the essence of the turnaround. In 1989 the sum we had to provide to the state sphere, as monetary financing, amounted to 96 billion forints. This year, in 1990, the monetary financing of the state sphere, according to the program, will be only 10 billion forints. I also include here the State Development Institute. Therefore, the improvement in the state sector amounts to more than 80 billion forints; this is the source for us to reduce this year the payments balance in external, dollar relations from last year's $1.3 billion to $550 million. This also means this budget improvement is our starting point to attempt to ensure the best conditions, amid the given circumstances, in the provision of credits in the enterprise sphere.

The measures serving as incentives for supply should be understood as meaning the packages related to liberalization, deregulation, privatization, the structure transformation of enterprises, and the redirection of turnover from ruble relations to the world market. In the case of the reform measures, it is of decisive significance that since the measures greatly affect the population, a tolerable situation must be created for the poorest strata.

While in two areas, in two areas that encompass extremely great dangers in themselves today and in the present moment, we can say that if we implement the program, the country can look forward with security not just to 1990, but to the following two years, too. In the past few weeks, a new phenomenon has appeared in Hungarian political and social life. These are the statements that say that after the elections the new political power does not, or only partially, wish to retain the country's solvency as a No. 1 economic policy aim, a priority. In this regard, the private banks and multilateral financial institutions are very keenly affected, for all the international support that Hungary enjoys, and that it will enjoy to an even greater measure after the elections, has as its first priority that the country be acknowledged as a reliable debtor. This includes that naturally, as in the credit agreement with the IMF this year, there will be the means for the new government, the new elected parliament to transfer to a medium-range program that even amid the restrictions of the foreign debt will certainly mean more favorable, tolerable conditions in the forthcoming two to three years, but without our ability to make the least compromise in the economic restructuring, which is in our interest.

I emphasize this because the historical possibility that Hungary should restructure its economy, both the structure and the mechanism, with wide-ranging international support is a onetime opportunity. Against our intentions, this opportunity could be torpedoed by our inability to ensure a settled situation in financing. In this year, and more so in the coming years, beyond the private markets, we will enjoy the conceptual governmental and new institutional support. The weight of this support will be a determining factor for Hungary. Apart from this, the only positive source, which is not in the nature of debt, is foreign working capital, without which restructuring within three or four years is not a realistic aim.

I would also like to draw attention to the fact that along with the preservation of external solvency, together with this, keeping a brake on inflation, preserving the forint's purchasing power, is a complex task that can only be ensured, but can be ensured, if we are capable of maintaining the financial discipline present in the decisions to date. We must do this not just in words and not just on the level of a program, but also in practice too, in the coming months. This is true even if all of us are filled with anxiety by the accumulated payment delays among the enterprises. However, the cessation and elimination of this is also only realistic if we do not take any loosening measures that signify only temporary, interim small openings, but in reality are not the tools of real, long-term, and lasting solutions.

I have said this because this is such a sensitive area. It is very much at the center of attention. The statements we hear, that we face galloping inflation, have no foundation. [They have foundation] only if we make the kind of resolutions in the future that have been done in the past. Otherwise, we can say with all certainty that internal stabilization can be achieved inasmuch as the new government and the parliament continues all the sober policy that is in the country's interests, which this parliament has also supported, and supports, since the middle of last year.

I would like to mention one more thing. We would have liked to bring here, at the same time as the National Bank's balance, the new draft law in connection with the Hungarian National Bank. Unfortunately, we were not able to do this, not only because the idea that it should be a strong, independent issuing bank under the parliament's jurisdiction, received rather scant support at the prior consultations, but rather it had much more technical reasons. The draft law has been prepared, although there are still open, debated points to it. We, at the National Bank believe it very important that this draft law be approved as soon as possible, if possible during the autumn, by the new parliament. This would signify a guarantee that the National Bank can satisfy the responsibility for monetary policy, including precise, quick briefings about this to external and internal public opinion. I highlight the autumn because we think that by then the government change will have gone through; the new government will reassuringly keep the direction of continuous economic policy under its supervision. At

that time, there will be a means for the National Bank's new leading institutions and its leadership to also be renewed.

Thank you for your attention, and I ask the parliament to accept the report.

Bartha Replies to Debate

LD2802205390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1415 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Response by Hungarian National Bank Chairman Dr. Ferenc Bartha to deputies' remarks on his report at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Thank you very much for the observations. I did not want to go into the monetary policy in detail. That it is rigorous and restrictive, that applies to the whole of the country's economy; in other words, the state sector, abroad, enterprises, and population alike. Within this, I would like to stress once again that in 1989 we gave the budget over 53 billion forints of financing; in 1990 the budget's debt will diminish vis-a-vis the issuing bank. We cannot provide a bigger selection than this, in the enterprise sector's interest.

Granting credit to the enterprises can increase by 22 percent this year. Within this we understand selection in this way: first and foremost, export; the issuing bank's policy is directed toward this. Second, small undertakings, private undertakings. Third, enterprise conversion, privatization, and the structural change [of exports] from one relation to another [socialist or world market].

There is one thing we cannot do, and it is this: that when the reason for the lining up is that out of 15,000 managing organs there are 300 managing organs that, in fact, represent 80 percent of the unpaid enterprise debts. If these businesses are not eliminated by liquidation with some adequate new measure other than pumping new money into them—not through nonpayment by the enterprise, but centrally—then we will not be able to get out of the trap. In other words, we would like some movement to begin in this. We are ready, whenever tension grows on account of nonpayment.... We have the means, also according to our agreement with the IMF, to go back and modify the crediting provisions.

This year we have approved more green credits for agriculture. The selective financing and crediting of the commercial banks is extremely important. In vain does the government, the National Bank, provide some kind of system of means, by way of refinancing, if the commercial banks do not make sure that the means should be made available for the national economy priorities, and for the transformation of the existing enterprise sector. If instead, they withdraw from it and they finance all kinds of other new things, starting with real estate businesses, then the existing resources will not be enough for the tackling of the tasks. Along with this, the main objective of the high interest is that we should encourage savings. There is an extremely large need for this, and in this direction a new process, in a good direction, is under way.

As for the question raised by Mr. Fekete: How can the loss arising from the forint's devaluation be presented as state debt? There is only one reason for this: that the National Bank, alongside a balance (? sum) of 1,750 billion forints, also has 10 billion (forints) of capital and 11 billion reserve capital. Within the bank-of-issue law, we wish to resolve this situation as well. The bank of issue must be capitalized. In this case the growth of debt arising from interim devaluations does not burden the budget.

At the same time, it emerges also from the report that we do not consider this form of state debt, and movement in this, as a matter or a tool of monetary policy planning. Therefore, if anything changes here, that does not mean that there will be a change in the distribution as regards the population, the enterprises, and external sectors.

Regarding the servicing of debt, I would just like to express my thanks for the support that was voiced in the two contributions. It is our sacred conviction that this also accords with the country's public opinion. Results cannot be achieved either with Bolshevik means such as the refusal to pay the czarist debts, or by trying to join Europe with the methods of black Africa.

We can count, and we can count in a large extent, on international support if we declare that Hungary also wants to do something in this regard and that she will do whatever she can. Only by way of illustration, I would like to mention that this morning we agreed on the issue of bonds to the tune of 200 million deutsche marks. Last week we introduced an Austrian bond issue. Therefore, whereas extremely negative reports are coming from the country, in spite of this the banks are confident that, as hitherto so also in the future, the main guiding principle of Hungarian economic policy will be soberness. Thank you very much. [Budapest MTI in English at 1622 GMT on 28 February notes that "at its session on Wednesday, parliament approved the report of Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary, on the country's financial situation."]

Report on Assets Adopted

LD2802222290 Budapest MTI in English 2110 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 28 (MTI)—In Budapest on Wednesday, the Hungarian National Assembly adopted a state audit office report on the balance sheet of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] as the legal successor to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP].

The report says that although the balance sheet is incomprehensive [as received], there is no need for repetition because the HSP has renounced a major part of its property.

Parliament also approved the report of the Planning and Budgetary Committee relating to Eva Balla's interpellation. The MP [member of parliament] said that the government

failed to carry out the decision from last year's referendum to demand a comprehensive account of assets from the HSP. The Planning and Budgetary Committee took the stand that parliament did not commission the government with this task, its activity covering only the utilization of HSWP's property. As an answer to the interpellation, they accepted the State Audit Office report about the examination of HSP's balance sheet.

At the same time, the committee called on the HSP to complete its balance sheet with inventory certificates which would be checked by the State Audit Office.

Assembly Session Resumes

LD0103091490 Budapest MTI in English 0852 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 1 (MTI)—The National Assembly resumed session at 9 am on Thursday.

Speaker Istvan Fodor announced that today, parliament would take a decision on the parliamentary motion calling for anulling the tax law on loans taken out for housing purposes.

The body first dealt with bills outstanding from the previous days.

Kalman Kulcsar, minister of justice, responded to MP's proposals to modify the constitution.

Assembly Approves Amendments

LD0103115590 Budapest MTI in English 1040 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 1 (MTI)—The National Assembly carried the proposal on the amendment to the constitution with 270 votes for, 20 against and 34 abstentions.

The final decision came as a result of a re-run of voting, as the first vote did not attract the required two-thirds majority.

Absolute dismissal of the bill would have entailed rejection of the parliamentary representation of ethnic and linguistic minorities, something which drew criticism from several mps [members of parliament], while other argued a re-run of the vote would mar the prestige of parliament.

Finally, Speaker Istvan Fodor called for a new vote on the issue, as he considered the number of mps absent from the first ballot too high.

The result of the second vote meant the issue of national and linguistic minorities was carried by 279 votes for.

Another part of the modification to the constitution was that mps voted to change the name of the Hungarian People's Army. It will now be known simply as the Hungarian Army.

This was followed by a personal vote at the initiative of Zoltan Kiraly, mp for Csongrad County, on whether the president of the republic should be elected directly by the people or by parliament.

With an overwhelming majority of 309 for, 13 against and 9 abstentions, the National Assembly voted that the president of the republic should be elected directly by the people through a referendum.

The next item on the agenda is the bill on the amendment to the education law.

12 Parties To Offer National Lists

LD2802110990 Budapest MTI in English 0805 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 28 (MTI)—An open session of the National Electoral Committee held in Budapest on Tuesday drew lots to designate the order of the national lists in accordance with the electoral law.

The parties could present their national lists to the National Electoral Committee by a February 23, midnight, deadline. It has been announced that 12 parties could put national lists. First this means that these parties could delegate one representative to the National Electoral Committee, while the serial numbers will play a part when distributing the mandates obtained on the national lists.

Order as defined by lot: 1. Hungarian Democratic Forum 2. Hungarian People's Party 3. Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party 4. Independent Smallholders' Party 5. Federation of Young Democrats 6. Alliance of Free Demiocrats 7. Entrepreneurs' Party 8. Hungarian Socialist Party 9. Agrarian Federation 10. Patriotic Electoral Coalition 11. Christian Democratic People's Party 12. Social Democratic Party of Hungary.

'Halftime' of Election Campaign Analyzed

AU0103093490 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Feb 90 p 5

[Andras Banki editorial: "Half-Time"]

[Text] Anyone who tries to forecast the final result is still taking a chance today, in the halftime of the election campaign, but one can no longer make a big mistake. The forecast supported by opinion polls is the following: Four parties—the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF], the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], the Independent Smallholders Party [FKP], and the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]—have serious chances of playing a determining political role after the elections. Some six to eight other parties—mainly the Alliance of Young Democrats [FIDESZ], the Hungarian Social Democratic Party [MSZDP], the Christian Democrats, the Hungarian People's Party, and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]—can also hope to reach the four-percent threshold and getting their representatives into the Parliament.

The greatest uncertainty concerning the final result is caused by the fact that 40 percent of the voters—3 million people—have not yet decided for whom or for which party to vote. This cannot be disregarded even if the forecasts talk about a 60-70 percent participation in the election. In the second half of the election campaign, the struggle will focus mainly on winning these voters, under clearer circumstances than before, because most of the 50 parties that have been running in the election will no longer play a genuine role, and probably only parties that have succeeded in coming up with a national list will continue to be genuinely present in the mass media.

However, it is too early to say that the competition is over. In forming a government and setting up a possible coalition, a decisive role will be played by the party that gets most of the votes and by the potential allies of this party.

The most noteworthy signals coming from the increasingly frequent opinion polls are the advance of the SZDSZ, the FIDESZ, and the Smallholders Party, and the stagnation of the HDF, as well as the strong regression of the MSZP. According to an opinion poll carried out at the end of January, the SZDSZ (15-18 percent) has already taken the lead from the HDF (16-17 percent.) Although one should treat these statistics cautiously, they nevertheless clearly show the trends. It is hardly accidental that the issue of a possible MDF-SZDSZ coalition came to the fore in the wake of the latest opinion polls, something that the MDF seemed to reject, mainly in the wake of the severe confrontation on the issue of the referendum in November 1989.

According to authoritative observers, a postelectoral MDF-SZDSZ coalition is both necessary and possible, and some people even say that this would be the only possible way of development. The coalition between the two aforementioned parties and of the center parties close to them is necessary because only such a coalition could provide the new government with a parliamentary majority, a basic condition for Hungary's governing. The aforementioned coalition is possible because the two leading parties' programs really do not contain irreconcilable elements. Concerning the alternatives and values, the perceptible difference between the two parties lies in the fact that, while the HDF wants a European Hungary—that is, it stresses our traditions and endowments, as well as the national-Christian values, in modernization and in the bourgeois civilization—the SZDSZ wants a Hungarian Europe, with general bourgeois liberal-radical values deeply rooted in Hungary. Thus, from a political and ideological viewpoint, the break between the two parties can be noticed along the national-Christian and the urban-liberal-bourgeois-radical lines, and, aware of our 20th century history, one can say that this break is repeated. However, just as the HDF seems to distance itself from the third passenger model that stresses our national elements, in the same way an increasing number of social elements are forcing themselves into the liberal-capitalist concepts of the SZDSZ. [sentence as published] If we add to all this that the Smallholders, who equally represent the national and liberal values, justifiably aspire to participate in the government, a coalition including representatives of the FIDESZ, the Social Democrats, the Christian Democrats, and the Hungarian People's Party, could be a balanced coalition.

This would almost be a national grand coalition if it also included the third political center: the MSZP. However, it seems almost certain today that the MSZP will be forced into opposition: Their aim to reach 25 percent of the votes is a totally illusory goal. Not a single noteworthy party wants to form a coalition with the MSZP, but this does not automatically exclude the possibility of "cooperating with outstanding figures of the MSZP"—as one of the HDF leaders put it. Obviously, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn must have considered this when he threw the NATO bomb this week....

There are four weeks left to the elections of historical importance. Just like everywhere in the world, confrontations and differences dominate in this election campaign. However, one can already discern the line originating from the forces that influence each other, a line that will determine Hungary's political map after the elections.

Thurmer Notes Workers' Party Election Gains

LD2803230890 Budapest MTI in English 1543 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest February 28 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Workers' 1543 Party [HSWP] has fared sucessfully in the first stage of the election campaign, in that it was able to put up a candidate in 87 of the 176 individual constituencies, party President Guyula Thurmer said at an HSWP press conference on Wednesday.

The HSWP has put up regional lists in 18 counties and in the capital. In this respect, the renewed party stands in 7th place among Hungarian political organizationS, ahead of the Federation of Young Democrats and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, for instance.

The national HSWP list is headed by Gyula Thurmer, while Laszlo Udvarhelyi, secretary of the party's Central Committee, heads the HSWP's Budapest list.

The HSWP list does not include any of the former leaders who joined the reorganized party such as Karoly Grosz or Janos Berecz.

The HSWP leaders said their party aims at preventing a right-wing turn, and the accompanying capitalist restoration.

Changes Anticipated in Soviet Troop Accord

LD2802175890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Lieutenant General Mieczyslaw Debicki, plenipotentiary of the Polish Republic's Government for the stationing of the Soviet Army in Poland, has announced that work is in progress on changing the rules governing the stationing of the Soviet Army in Poland. This includes the issue of how to use current rates as lease rent for all immovable properties, as well as the introduction of the principle that the provisioning of the Soviet Army with food, industrial, and building goods will be done according to current internal prices.

The new version of the intergovernmental agreement has already been completed in the office of the government's plenipotentiary, and proceedings have started to reach an agreement.

Further on Accord

LD2802194490 Warsaw PAP in English 1538 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—The Polish Government plenipotentiary for the stationing of the Soviet troops in Poland General Mieczyslaw Debicki told PAP today he fulfilled his tasks stemming from the agreement on the legal status of those troops in Poland and maintained regular contacts with his counterpart in the Soviet Government.

Here is what he said about his role as a government plenipotentiary. Excerpts:

"I also deal with settling all questions connected with the movements of the Soviet troops in Poland, organizing and chairing joint sessions of the two sides, and supervising the work of the Polish-Soviet mixed commission.

"It is my duty to control the implementation of commitments taken on by the Soviet side as concerns the making up for the losses made during the manoeuvres and movements of the troops. I also study complaints by citizens and institutions pertaining to violations of their rights by members of the Soviet troops.

"Soviet units usually occupy buildings constructed in the 1930s with sewage treatment facilities being not always properly used (mainly in air garrisons in Brzeg, Chojna, Kluczewo, Szprotawa, Zagan, Krzywa, Bagicz, Legnica) which causes soil contaminations and produces a threat of surface water contamination.

"There is an urgent need to improve water relationships and build a sewage-treatment plant. The Soviet side has obliged itself to finance these undertakings," he said and mentioned also cases of air pollution.

"Another swollen problem are hardships connected with the functioning of military airports, mainly in Szprotawa, Brzeg, and Czestochowa," he said.

"There are cases of violating by commanders of Soviet units the rules on managing forests and game-laws on the lands where Soviet troops stay.

"There is a number of untenanted apartments in garrison towns inhabited by Soviet soldiers and they are frequently neglected or devastated.

"In big garrisons like Swidnica, Brzeg, [and] Legnica there are cases of the violating by Soviet soldiers of the rules of community life and Polish regulations. There are robberies, burglaries and thefts, and frequent cases of car collisons which produce unfavourable climate in Polish society. For instance, during a 350-km training march, the Soviet soldiers were thrown stones and bottles at twenty-one times.

"The basic legal act describing the status of the Soviet troops is the 1956 agreement between the governments of Poland and the USSR. Its rules stress respect for Poland's sovereignty and impose on the Soviet side a duty to respect and observe the rules of the Polish law.

"There is a need to amend the regulations pertaining to the principles of using by the Soviet troops of different buildings and services," the plenipotentiary stated.

"A new version of an inter-governmental agreement has been worked out at the plenipotentiary's office, and the ministries and institutions concerned are expected to present their opinions on the matter," the plenipotentiary said.

Soviet Deportation of Poles in 1940 Recalled

LD2802200290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Excerpt] In (?Cholyn), they shut us into train cars without any windows as if we were criminals. They loaded about 70 people into each car and that's how we travelled, without any light or water, cold and hungry. Those are excerpts form the memoirs of one of the victims of the deportations.

Precisely 50 years have passed since the beginning of the mass deporations of Polish citizens from the eastern areas of the Second Republic [interwar Poland] into the depth of the Soviet Union. Four great waves of transportations embraced 1,500,000 people in 1940 and 1941. There were military people, state officials, forestry workers, and railway officials among them. Any citizen of the Polish state, which was regarded as a hostile bourgeois state regime, could find themselves on the list of those to be banished. Many people did not survive the journey. A considerabe number of the deportees died in the places of exile and in work camps in Siberia and Kazakhstan. [passage omitted containing interview with Polish historian on the work by Jan Gross on this period of Polish history]

German Position on Western Border Examined

AU2802182290 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Feb 90 pp 1,7

[Report by Krystyna Grzybowska, Bonn correspondent: "Unification and Borders"]

[Text] Before Chancellor Kohl departed for Camp David to hold talks with U.S. President Bush, Bonn said this visit would be the most important U.S.-German meeting since the war. Bonn also said that the chancellor was going to tell President Bush that the Polish western border is inviolable. Before his departure, Chancellor Kohl said he would like to meet Premier Mazowiecki once again before the GDR elections on 18 March. After their first talks at Camp David, the members of the West German delegation confirmed that President Bush insisted on a final guarantee from Kohl concerning the Polish border along the Odra and Nysa rivers.

After all these statements, the results of the Camp David talks might look miserable from Poland's point of view. At a joint news conference, Kohl repeated his previous stance whereby border issues will be finally settled by an all-German government and parliament that will emerge following free elections. However, no one combines the nation's unity with a shift in its borders.

This short statement by Kohl combines two features. On the one hand, the view that German unification does not involve a revision of borders is an expression of political intent. On the other hand, the announcement that border issues will finally be settled by an all-German government is a legal statement. The constitutional head of power in the FRG is the chancellor, not the government. Therefore, the chancellor is bound by the principles of the Basic Law, which forbid anyone to speak on behalf of an all-German body of authority that does not exist, or does not exist yet.

Legal considerations were also the reason why Bonn rejected Premier Mazowiecki's suggestion of initialing a peace treaty with each German state separately, followed by the final signing of this treaty with a united German state. According to Bonn, neither the FRG nor the GDR were ever at war with Poland, therefore one cannot conclude a peace treaty with them. Even if one accepts the fact that the FRG is the heir of the Third Reich—as German law says it is—that is no reason to conclude a treaty with the GDR.

In any case, Poland's western border remains at the center of attention, and many West German politicians are trying, often at their own cost, to solve this problem in accordance with the law, but also with a feeling of political realism. The text of a telex message sent by Interior Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble to the Polish Foreign Ministry, following his talks with Secretary of State Baker in Washington, has been published in Bonn. Here are excerpts from this confidential message:

"A declaration containing a final confirmation of Poland's western border may be issued either when the GDR or individual Laender join the FRG. The Basic Law may be amended to prevent further annexations of territory to the FRG. As far as Poland's western border is concerned, this would be a clear and unequivocal solution to the problem. As far as internal politics are concerned, I see no problem. Those who have been displaced will also accept the final loss of the eastern territories."

The Foreign Ministry in Bonn was unable to confirm the authenticity of this report, but it did not deny it either. When talking about constitutional changes, Schaeuble must have meant deleting from the constitution the preamble to the clause that says that the German Reich continues to exist, as well as article 23, which permits territory outside the FRG to join the FRG. However, the article that obligates the FRG Government to bring about unification, to which FRG politicians refer so frequently, does not even have to be amended, for it talks not of the unity of Germany, but of the unity of the German people.

A statement by Hans-Dietrich Genscher issued in Bonn on Saturday is soothing to the ear. The West German foreign minister promises that no decision concerning Germany will be made behind the backs of Germany's allies and eastern neighbors. It is not just the participants of the Two-Plus-Four Conference that will take part in the decision-making process concerning the reestablishment of German unity; a CSCE summit meeting must take place this year, and this meeting will lay down clear outlines of security mechanisms in the Europe of tomorrow.

The list of West German statements over the past weekend on the subject of Poland's western border is a long one. Alfred Dregger, chairman of the parliamentary faction of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU]/Christian Social Union [CSU], told the NEUE ZEIT, the organ of the East German CDU, that only an all-German government can make any border settlements with Poland. The FRG cannot do so, if only because it shares no border with Poland. However, Dregger added, Poland has no reason to doubt the Germans' sincerity in recognizing the Odra-Nysa border as final. In view of the fact that Dregger is the leader of the so-called "Stahlhelm," the most conservative faction of the CDU, this assurance of his carries considerable weight.

In turn Prime Minister Albrecht of Lower Saxony, who is also a CDU politician, told the NEUE OSNABRUECKER ZEITUNG that unification can only occur within the borders of 1990, with the Odra and Nysa rivers as Poland's western border. However, he said that neither the FRG Bundestag nor the GDR Volkskammer, nor the two parliaments together, have the right to conclude any border treaty.

Finally, during a visit to Atlanta, USA, Count Lambsdorff, chairman of the Liberal Free Democratic Party [FDP], demanded that Chancellor Kohl firmly commit

himself to a recognition of Poland's western border. It is the duty of the liberals to preserve the present borders, said Lambsdorff.

In this medley of statements, the total absence of any statement by a politician representing the displaced communities is conspicuous. Yet these politicians are usually louder than the rest. However, they have become an expendable political ballast in recent weeks, and because their future depends on support from the Interior Ministry, whose head is in favor of a recognition of the western border, they are now silent.

Skubiszewski Contacts Genscher, Shevardnadze

LD2802184590 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] The head of our diplomacy, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, held a telephone conversation with Hans Dietrich Genscher today, and with Eduard Shevardnadze on Monday, and discussed our participation in the conference on the unification of Germany.

Overview of Israeli Foreign Minister Arens' Visit

LD2702230590 Warsaw PAP in English 1515 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 27—Polish and Israeli Foreign Ministers Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Moshe Arens, in the presence of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, today signed a protocol on the resumption of the diplomatic relations between Poland and Israel.

Relations with Israel were cut off by Poland and other socialist countries in June, 1967.

The sides also signed an international agreement on air transport.

In the wake of the ceremony, Tadeusz Mazowiecki said he believed that the resumption of the relations was important not only from the political but also from the moral point of view. The breaking off of these relations was a dramatic move, he said, considered to be wrong by many of us. Then came the year 1968 with anti-Semitic aspects.

"I think that the resumption of these relations unlives the past phenomena. This is what I wanted to mark with my presence here." Mazowiecki stated.

Minister Skubiszewski said that the establishment of relations between the states whose societies had such a long common history removed an abnormal thing which not only lasted too long but should have never happened. "The present Polish Government condemns the events of 1967 and 1968," Skubiszewski said.

"A question arises whether this government should apologize. We express regret, we express discontent and condemnation but those who should apologize are the architects of the breaking off of the relations," Skubiszewski added.

Minister Arens said that there were no doubt that the signing fo the protocol between Poland and Israel would broaden and strengthen economic cooperation. He added that this was the beginning of a new chapter now being opened in mutual relations.

Face-to-face Talks

The signing of the documents was preceded by face-to-face talks of the two ministers and plenary talks presided over by them.

The two sides exchanged information and views on the formal and legal structure needed for the further expansion of relations between Poland and Israel. In the field of economic contacts, they touched upon the questions of mutual facilitations and protection of investements, the development of air and sea transport, trade, payments and the establishing of joint venture companies.

Much attention was paid to cultural relations. An intergovernmental accord and an agreement on the opening of cultural centres in Poland and Israel are being prepared. The sides spoke about the engagement on the part of Israel and the diaspora in the protection of monuments of Jewish material culture in Poland.

Referring to the tourist traffic, the Polish side pointed to restricitons imposed by the Israeli authorities on Polish tourists like sending some of them back to Poland despite their having valid visas.

The sides also spoke about the Carmelite Convent in Oswiecim (Auschwitz). The Polish side presented the current state of affairs and steps that have been made to settle the matter. It was pointed out that the jurisdiction of the church had a final say in this respect.

Minister Skubiszewski was invited to pay a visit to Israel. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

Mazowiecki-Arens Talk

Moshe Arens talked with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki for more that one hour. Polish Foreign Vice-Minister Jan Majewski, who attended the meeting, told PAP that while discussing bilateral relations, the prime minister emphasized the purposefulness of expanding economic cooperation and added that the expectations in this respect on the part of Poland were big.

They also referred to the times when the diplomatic relations were cut off. The prime minister confirmed the words uttered earlier by Foreign Minister Skubiszewski that it had been a mistake and expressed regret over that fact. Poland is interested in making up for that period of break in mutual contacts, he declared.

Referring to Germanys' unification, Minister Arens said that he shared Poland's position that the unification had to be preceded by guarantees for the existing borders, and especially for the Polish western border.

Arens invited Mazowiecki to pay an official visit to Israel. The invitation was accepted.

Majewski said that the talks did not include the question of the Carmelite Convent in Oswiecim (Auschwiitz). He added he expected Arens to meet on the matter with the church authorities.

Arens-Balcerowicz Talks

In the wake of his talks with Moshe Arens, Vice-premier Leszek Balcerowicz told PAP that the resumption of the diplomatic relations with Israel was a factor conducive to the expansion of economic relations.

One must admit that economic contacts had existed before the diplomatic relations were resumed, he stated, and the present visit was of an introductory character. Minister Arens is accompanied by respected businessmen and the talk showed that they are interested in investing in Polish industries.

What will help in this respect is tradition and the fact that they know the Polish language, Balcerowicz said.

Press Conference

In the evening Minister Moshe Arens met with journalists.

In his introductory statement the minister referred to the long history of relations between the Israeli and Polish nations.

Speaking about the presence, the Israeli foreign minister stressed that his country follows with attention the transformations in Poland towards democracy and market economy. [sentence as received] We are ready to offer any assistance that such a small country as Israel is can afford, he said.

Asked about the possibility of lifting visas and invitations in the tourist traffic between Poland and Israel, Moshe Arens said that the Israeli authorities will take up steps with a view to intensifying travel between the two countries.

One of the questions concerned the issue of the Carmelite Convent in Oswiecim and the construction of a meeting and prayer centre there, Minister Arens said that he had discussed the question with Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

According to the Israeli minister the time for the construction of the centre is too long and thus it suggests some alternative localization of the convent in order to avoid the one and a half year period of waiting for the move.

Minister Arens repeated that the Israeli Government has not worked out a stand yet on the problem of Germany unification and assured that it will be done in short time. He said however that all are aware of Poland's concern about the durability of her western border. The point is in doing nothing which could threaten that. We support such stands, Minister Moshe Arens declared.

Democratic Party Chairman Jozwiak Resigns

LD2802121690 Warsaw PAP in English 1135 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, feb. 28 (PAP)—"Believing that the current situation, internal disputes and quarrels can lead to the split, and even decomposition of the party, I find it my duty to resign from the post of the Democratic Party's [DP] chairman," Jerzy Jozwiak said during a plenary meeting of DP central committee presidium submitted their resignations as well.

Mackiewicz Elected Democratic Party Chairman

LD2802155390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] I am informed that Aleksander Mackiewicz, internal trade minister, has been elected the new chairman of the SD (Democratic Party). That was the latest news.

Orientation of Sejm Parties, Deputies Examined

AU2702142090 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 21 Feb 90 p 2

[Dariusz Szymczycha article: "In the Sejm From the Left"]

[Text] Dividing up the seats of Sejm deputies according to the political affiliation of their occupants has lost its meaning. Once upon a time, we knew that the benches on the left of the hall right up to the very center were occupied by Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] deputies. Behind them were the many United Peasant Party [ZSL] deputies, and the remainder of the seats, to the right, were occupied by deputies from the Democratic Party [SD], the Christian associations, and the nonparty "fringe."

We still have the same Sejm assembly hall, only the deputies in it are seated differently today. The first break with tradition—reserving the benches on the left for party deputies—occurred when seven deputies who had introduced the law to abolish the 22 July national holiday and then quit the PZPR were allowed to keep their seats. These seven are jocularly referred to as the 22 July Deputies Club.

Less than two months after the end of the PZPR, most of its benches are occupied by—nonparty deputies. About 30 deputies have joined the Social-Democratic Union, whereas only 20-odd deputies have applied to join the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP].

So 100 former PZPR deputies do not belong to either of the two new left-wing parties. That does not mean they have broken with the left wing as such, for they do belong to the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left

[PKLD], whose chairman is the same man who was chairman of the PZPR Deputies Club, in other words Marian Orzechowski, except that he is a nonparty man now.

On the other hand, an autonomous Deputies Club of the Social-Democratic Union has established itself in the Sejm, though it is formally linked with the PKLD. Deputy Wieslawa Ziolkowska has spoken on its behalf. Tadeusz Fiszbach is the unquestioned leader of this circle. Having been vice marshal of the old Sejm, he now declares that he wants to represent the entire Sejm left wing.

The situation with the SDRP deputies is not as clear as with those of the Social-Democratic Union. The SDRP has still not announced the formation of a deputies club. The position of deputy chairman of the SDRP Supreme Council, which is open to the SDRP in accordance with the party statute, is still vacant.

At the last Supreme Council session, Leszek Miller failed to talk Deputy Izabella Sierakowska into becoming a liaison officer between the SDRP deputies and the Central Executive Committee.

In view of the criticism voiced by deputies about how this matter is being handled, the election of the composition of the Central Executive Committee has been postponed. Deputies Slawomir Wiatr and Zbigniew Sobotka, who were elected to the Central Executive Committee previously, have been assigned other functions that have nothing to do with the Sejm.

So who will the SDRP deputies choose to represent them? There are several leaders. Ireneusz Sekula and Jozef Oleksy have made a name for themselves in the government. Deputy Stanislaw Gabrielski has more experience in party work than anyone else in this group. However, the youngest member of this group, Deputy Jan Piechota from Szczecin, is one of the longest-serving Sejm deputies.

What is the difference between the social democrats in the SDRP and those in the Social-Democratic Union? Deputy Ziolkowska told the Sejm: "We belong to a group of people who are against the continuation of the old PZPR political line under a new name and against the continuation of the formula of ruling state party from the angle of organization and assets."

The SDRP deputies have enough reasons to disagree with that. As leader of the SDRP founding committee, Piechota surrendered all the PZPR's Szczecin property to the municipal authorities and contented himself with keeping just a few rooms. Deputy Wieslaw Kaczmarek is well known for his clashes with the PZPR Warsaw Committee during the election campaign. So for the time being, the programmatic, ideological, and political differences between the Union and the SDRP are blurred. One has to wait for a dispute to flare up in the Sejm. Perhaps then we shall see in what way the social democrats may differ.

However, there are differences between the two groups as far as personalities and life experience is concerned. The Union contains deputies who might be capable of maintaining contacts with journalists. Dobrochna Kedzierska, Krzysztof Komornicki, Marek Krol, Wieslawa Ziolkowska, Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, Edmund Jagiello—these people are an excellent advertisement for the Social-Democratic Union. The SDRP has not attracted so many colorful personalities.

Typical is the territorial extent of the influence which the Union has won thanks to its deputies. Their bastion is the Poznan region. That is where Krol, Ziolkowska, and Marek Pol were elected. Thanks to Cimoszewicz and Janusz Szymanski, the Union's influence will no doubt extend to the "eastern parts" of the Republic, to Bialystok.

Examining the life histories of the Union's deputies, one sees that they are directors and deputy directors of enterprises of many years standing, representatives of the old economic nomenklatura. The SDRP has deputies with richer political experience, certainly more experience in public work. One can call them professional politicians without fear of exaggeration. People like Oleksy, Sekula, or Wiatr are also conspicuous as reformers.

What can one say about the remaining members of the PKLD with no party affiliation? One hears people saying that they acted in accordance with the present situation, that they lacked courage, and so on. That is a simplified, Bolshevik way of thinking, for if both groups of social democrats have agreed to take voluntary part in political work, then let us treat this agreement seriously. One must dispense with the Stalinist dogma whereby a politician has to belong to some party.

A large number of people holding responsible posts in industry will not join either the SDRP or the Union. They know what the witch-hunt of the nomenklatura smells of. The small number of Sejm deputies in Army uniform are not likely to join the SDRP either, for one envisages a ban on membership of political parties for professional soldiers and employees of the police and the Office of State Protection. A certain group of former PZPR deputies might also make entirely new political choices as soon as ethnic or agrarian groups appear in the Sejm. I think the emergence of these groups will hasten the nonparty affiliation of most left-wing deputies, for this is changing the traditional view of a political adversary which Citizens Parliamentary Club deputies held of the PZPR.

Therefore, a nonparty left wing will hasten the disintegration of the Sejm.

European Parliament Group Meets With Walesa

LD2802135790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] The delegation of the European Parliament has begun its visit to the Polish coast with a meeting with Lech Walesa. In the Solidarity headquarters, talks were held on the issues of Poland's economic cooperation with the West. Next, the delegation went to Oliwa [district of Gdansk], home of Gdansk bishops, where a meeting was held with Tadeusz Goclowski, Gdansk diocese ordinary bishop.

Walesa Discusses Economy, Europe on French TV

LD2803162890 Warsaw PAP in English 1441 GMT 28 Feb 90

[By PAP correspodnent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, Feb. 28—Lech Walesa was guest of the second channel of the French TV right after midnight today, speaking in a broadcast of leading journalist Frederic Mitterrand, nephew of the French president.

Asked about Poland's present economic situation, Lech Walesa answered that a programme pursued by the government was the only possible road. He said that society acknowledged this, supported the programme and that it noticed its first positive results.

Lech Walesa spoke very highly of head of the government Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Asked about the assessment of the West's hitherto assistance for Poland, Lech Walesa answered that Poland's present-day situation was in a way the result of the fact that Western powers had betrayed Poland in Yalta in 1945. Now when Poland has already overcome the Yalta system, Europe should rush to our rescue.

The Solidarnosc chairman expressed his opinion also on the German question. He is not afraid of the unification of Germany but one should, of course, be very vigilant, as Germans did a lot of evil and Europe allowed this.

One should prevent bad tendencies. Europe should get integrated, primarily economically, preserving political identity of individual peoples. Of course, this does not rule out our economic cooperation with Germany.

Opinion Poll Results on Unemployment, Prices

AU2202090790 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 15 Feb 90 p 2

['aga'-signed report: "What We Think About Unemployment and Prices"]

[Text] If a referendum had been carried out at the beginning of February, it is probable that every third Pole would be for and the other two thirds would be against increased unemployment. These results come from the latest poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center.

Around 41 percent of those polled (state sector employees) were distinctly unenthusiastic, and 26.5 percent were horrified by the prospect of increased unemployment. Only 23.2 percent of those polled expressed some comprehension and acceptance of the necessity of unemployment. Some 8.6 percent were indifferent.

Apart from the lack of enthusiasm and the pervading feeling of danger, many people saw some positive aspects of unemployment, namely: the elimination of hidden unemployment (85.4 percent); an improvement in work discipline (79.6 percent); growth of private enterprise (55.7 percent); and an increase in economic output (3.8 percent).

Around 60 percent of those polled feared that the worst results of unemployment would be strikes and protests.

According to those polled, the first to be made unemployed will be unreliable workers (90.6 percent). It is interesting to note that 78.9 percent think that the factory managements will use the excuse of unemployment to rid themselves of "undesirable" personnel. According to 53.2 percent, former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] activists will be the among the first to "get the chop."

About 42.1 percent, consider themselves directly threatened with unemployment. This is a 6 percent increase on January.

Regrettably, only 36.6 percent believe that those made unemployed will be able to rely on the state's assistance and support. Some 33.7 percent believe that such people will have to fend for themselves.

Prices are scandalously high, but the supply is improving—this was the general opinion of those polled.

Around 70 percent felt very strongly about the high price of furniture, televisions and radios, household electricals, and sugar.

Some 52-68 percent were horrified at the high price of bread, meat, milk and milk products, flour, clothes, and footwear.

Less than half of those polled (34-42 percent), consider articles of personal and household hygiene, medicine, alcohol, cigarettes, and products for the agricultural industry, to be unacceptable.

The high price of fruit and vegetables only preoccupied about 25 percent of those polled.

Only 50 percent were aware of the reasons behind the high prices and market malfunctions. Every fourth individual claimed that the government did not have a good idea of how the market functioned.

Iliescu on Past Regime, Current 'Instability'

PM2802120090 Paris LE MONDE in French 28 Feb 90 pp 1,4

[Interview with Ion Iliescu, chairman of the Provisional Council of National Unity, by Patrice Claude in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] Bucharest—[Claude] Sir, are you still a Communist?

[Iliescu] You know, it is now very difficult to use such a definition. Let us say that I was born into a family of activists and that I have remained a political activist.

[Claude] Do you think, however, that Marxism is dead once and for all?

[Iliescu] Marxism has inspired human thought during the last century. There were scientific reasons for its appearance, and it therefore remains a historical element in philosophical development. As an instrument of analysis, it is still a tool, if we stop regarding it as a rigid dogma. On the other hand, with regard to its social, economic, and political practice, and the ideology which inspired it, it has been completely discredited. It is no longer on this (ideological—LE MONDE editor's note) basis that we can rethink the development of modern society. Contemporary thought is much broader, richer, more flexible, and better adapted to today's dynamism. The simple classical Marxist instrument is no longer sufficient. The modern world is characterized by a technological and scientific explosion which revolutionizes everything. It is difficult to approach this reality on the basis of outdated systems.

[Claude] Was the revolution anti-Ceausescu or anticommunist?

[Iliescu] It was primarily a revolt by the masses against Ceausescu and it took on an anticommunist character. In the other countries (in East Europe—LE MONDE editor's note) the process began from within, or even from within party leaderships which tried to move away from Stalinist practices. The USSR is an example of that. The Gorbachev generation itself sought ways of renewal, and reform, and that is the reason for perestroyka. It was impossible in our country.

Ceausescu created such a powerful system of repression inside and outside the party that he stifled any attempt to integrate the reform movement.

Everything deteriorated—social, cultural, and spiritual life—and tensions increased until an explosion was inevitable. It is that which characterizes the Romanian revolution.

[Claude] However, you are criticized for relying too much on former structures. Are you trying to save what you can from Romanian communism?

[Iliescu] That is impossible. But you cannot change everything in two months. The state apparatus could not be completely overhauled in so short a time. That would also have completely upset the whole of the national economy. There are many skilled people in the apparatus—technocrats and experts—and we need them. We need them for their personal qualities, not because they belonged or did not belong to the former political apparatus. The problem is general suspicion, and that is difficult to combat....

Our society is suffering from the Ceausescu syndrome in every respect. He created a society dominated by distrust and suspicion. We are all scarred by that. It will probably take several generations to completely clean up Romanian society.

[Claude] In that connection, can Romania get by without a real purge? Can it start again on the former bases?

[Iliescu] The whole of society will have to be restructured on new bases. Everything, the economy, social relations, political life. But it is a complex process. It cannot be achieved at one stroke. That would be dangerous. We are in a transitional phase which itself generates great social instability. We do not want to create the conditions for chaos and anarchy.

The Sources of Instability

[Claude] What about the Securitate? You are strongly suspected of using its former members.

[Iliescu] Yes, the public doubts that the former organs of repression have been destroyed. However, the Securitate has been dissolved and so has its main leadership. The legal authorities are carrying out investigations to establish each person's practical responsibilities. The Securitate comprised several units, and many of those who belonged to the combatant forces, for instance, behaved loyally, and they did not take part in the repression of the masses. We have integrated those people into the Army. Of course, the purge process is continuing, and its objectives are elements compromised either by their past actions or by the duties which they performed.

There were also intelligence and counterespionage services, like those which exist in all countries, but which came under the Interior Ministry. We have ended their activities and their staff are now controlled and monitored by the Army. To create the new bodies necessary for state functioning, we have started the process of replacing people through which confidence in the new state can be restored.

[Claude] What should we fear most for the country? Anarchy? A military coup or a different kind of coup?

[Iliescu] There is a combination of things. There are many sources of instability. There are the economic problems which are generating discontent and legitimate demands which cannot all be satisfied in the immediate future. There is also political competition which probably further accentuates those tensions and constantly

feeds distrust and suspicion. We have advocated political pluralism in particular but, of course, competition among the parties is deepening the existing disagreements. In addition to that, there is then the lack of political structures: We have demolished the old ones and it is not easy to create new ones. The elections will lay the foundations for new structures....

I do not, however, think that there is now a risk of a military coup or any kind of dictatorship. Only chaos and anarchy could create the conditions for that.

[Claude] However, some people are calling on the Army to govern.

[Iliescu] Yes, they are demanding my resignation and that of the government. But nobody ever shouts: "We want power!" If we all resign, who would govern this country? The Army? That is too vague. Who in the Army? It would be necessary to find candidates to take responsibility for an economy in crisis. Anybody who does so must realize that he is taking a considerable political risk. Moreover, no party is proposing that. They are trying to weaken the existing government. But nobody is offering to take on all the responsibilities. Believe me, if I were a skilled politician, as some people say, I would not have launched into such an adventure. It is currently much more comfortable to be in opposition.

[Claude] On what basis does the National Salvation Front, your party, hold half of the seats on the Provisional National Unity Council?

(For the first time since the start of the interview, the smiling Mr. Iliescu seemed about to lose his temper. He seized a piece of paper and scribbled angrily....)

[Iliescu] What do the parties represent fundamentally? For the time being, they only have aspirations. The elections will decide. The National Salvation Front Council has meanwhile shouldered the responsibility. Right from the start, it formed a provisional government and effectively governed the country for several weeks. It was only later that the parties were formed and we showed them our openness, our willingness not to monopolize power. We offered them the chance to participate in the current transition process, to join those who already believed in improving the situation. That is true! The representatives of the parties currently talk a great deal, but when it comes to taking responsibility, it is a different matter. However, we are offering them that possibility because we think that we must jointly deal with all the problems and because the Provisional National Unity Council can make a strong contribution to the improvement of the general political atmosphere. Confrontation should really be limited to the program and ideas. Those who are given the citizens' confidence will shoulder responsibility, that is final.

[Claude] Will the Provisional National Unity Council and the government hold out until then (the end of May—LE MONDE editor's note)?

[Iliescu] That would be good because time is running out. We cannot really afford disturbances. In discussions with the parties, I felt that they too had understood that there was nothing to gain from upheavals at the present. At every event, that is their official position.

[Claude] Will Romania elect a president of the republic by universal suffrage?

[Iliescu] After long debates, and although the plan still has to be approved by the Provisional Council of National Unity, it seems that we are moving toward an election based on lists of candidates in the case of the deputies, a bicameral parliamentary system, and the direct election of the president of the republic. I personally would favor an election by the deputies, but universal suffrage, as in France, is probably justified. Indeed, the head of state must have received a clear mandate from the citizens to ensure this country's stability.

[Claude] Will you be a candidate?

[Iliescu] I do not yet know. That will depend on the development of the situation in the coming months.

[Claude] Is the country ready for democracy?

[Iliescu] There is no doubt that the transition from a dictatorship to democracy is not easy. Having said that, I think that people are adapting much more quickly than is generally thought. Elections in the near future will dispel the general atmosphere of suspicion and will prompt the citizens to play a more active part in political life. It is true that there is a lack of confidence in the parties. This is the result of a process characteristic of the East European countries and also reflects the lack of aversion toward the one-party system. (Czechoslovak President—LE MONDE editor's note) Vaclav Havel expressed this idea recently. When I did likewise, I was accused of opposing a multiparty system, but that is not true. It is just that the notion of pluralism is broader and more flexible for me and is not limited to the coexistence of several parties.

[Claude] What does perestroyka mean to you?

[Iliescu] It is a process specific to the USSR which essentially aims to adapt Soviet society to changes in the contemporary world.... After a series of mistakes, Moscow realized that it was impossible to bring the USSR up to world technological standards without a far-reaching reform of the economy, without a political restructuring of society. As for knowing if the USSR is departing from communism or if it is communism which is adapting to circumstances.... Perhaps it is both....

[Claude] What about the Warsaw Pact? What state is it in do you think?

[Iliescu] It is in a complicated and difficult state. I do not know how it is going to develop, but we have made it known that it can no longer be a military pact. We must move toward a political alliance for the countries in the

region. Let us be realistic; the existence of two opposing military pacts in Europe is no longer justified. New political conditions have appeared favoring general cooperation. The disappearance of NATO and the Warsaw Pact would greatly contribute to improving the general climate.

[Claude] Do you envisage leaving the Pact? Why did you recently dissuade the USSR from holding the next Pact ministers' meeting in Bucharest?

[Iliescu] We made it known that current conditions in Romania were not favorable to holding such a conference. Having said that, we have never yet expressed a desire to leave the Pact. I think that the statement by Mr. Horn, the Hungarian minister who recently mentioned his country leaving the Warsaw Pact, had an electoral nature.

[Claude] Your relations with Washington seem very cold.

[Iliescu] Yes. Yet we have shown our openness to everybody, in Europe and elsewhere. When James Baker (the U.S. secretary of state—LE MONDE editor's note) came here, we had a fairly open dialogue which struck me as positive. The State Department assured us that the situation in this country and our efforts to improve it would be viewed with understanding. But we are seeing a degree of coldness, and some distrust of our desire and ability to guarantee free elections.

Frankly, I do not understand this attitude, this interference in another country's internal affairs. I know that distrust toward us is fueled by some (Romanian—LE MONDE editor's note) party members. It is possible to have different ideas and programs, but I think that the parties should always place the national interest above those disagreements. Everybody must understand that it is in our interest to steer this country out of its crisis and to guarantee it a sound and democratic development.

Iliescu on Economy, Communist Party

AU2702202490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1808 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/2/1990—In an interview with ROMANIA LIBERA it publishes in its 27 February issue, the president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], Ion Iliescu, approaches the following questions:

—The current economic situation

As Prime Minister Petre Roman specified at the latest PNUC session, the overall industrial production stands at 70 per cent of what it was in the first three months last year. In the last years of Ceausescu's government the national economy entered into a very profound crisis. We are picking up the bitter fruits of such a situation. We still are on a descending curb: the excessively worn-out technical equipment, the lack of raw materials and energy, a wrong policy of quality, added to which is the instability in the country. All this confers a generally unstable and decreasing aspect on the current Romanian economy. Our immediate task is to stop decreasing, stabilize the economy and revitalize it.

—Growing inflationist phenomena

Now the ratio between the population's incomes and the commodities in the market is unfavourable. Practically speaking, the economy cannot offer enough commodities to absorb the population's larger incomes. We also took certain measures to boost the prices for foodstuffs so as to stimulate the agricultural sector. Certainly, this accentuates inflationist phenomena. Nevertheless we count on a growing volume of foodstuffs.

—The NSF's [National Salvation Front] stance on privatization and the market economy

The Front's stance which is also expressed in its platform-programme is realistic. It is a variant which enables the coexistence of various forms of property: the private property in agriculture, in the industrial-type productive activities, in trade. Yet, there are structures which cannot be privatized. This holds for the large state farming units, for the units achieved through cooperation and the more so in industry where the big state property should exist but in new forms, in conditions of decentralization and the application of market laws. The relationship between market and plan becomes a crucial problem.

—Citizens' demarches

One cannot say there would be a privileged category in the president's dialogue with the country. It is true I could not meet all the delegations when they wanted. I also met military several times. I missed one opportunity, it is true. I reproach myself with this. I also could not meet the students or part of our intellectuals whenever I wished... It is a gap, if not even a mistake.

—The possibility for the Communist Party to revert to the political life

As a matter of fact, the Romanian Communist Party no longer exists. If there is any possibility for it to revive, only life can tell it. I cannot see such a possibility, but according to our legislation it is not excluded. Though I cannot see it likely to be done. Actually I cannot see how it can get adhesions now.

—The prospects of political pluralism in Romania

Irrespective of the 20 May election returns, there will be a political pluralism in the country's political life, maybe different from what it is today when we are in an incipient stage. The NSF itself will resettle. But regardless of results, the government form requires a coalition. The most realistic thing is to achieve a multi-party coalition to rule the country. I do not think that now we are in a position to have such a strong political grouping as to place the opposition to the periphery. Most of the

political groupings and parties, including the NSF, have a too weak position to be able to take over the power.

—The PNUC president's decreasing popularity

I have foreseen it from the very first days of my assuming such a responsibility. The one who assumes the responsibility of leading a country in an economic, social and political crisis also takes a great risk. I have not done it on personal reasons. I have assumed such a responsibility because circumstances prompted me to do so. Had I been a versatile politician interested in holding power, I should have stood aside because it is easier to be in the opposition than to assume specific responsibilities.

—Assessments of wrong political actions

There are many such like actions. Some concessions, maybe the most serious we made was at the extremist demonstration on 12 January when we made the great mistake of issuing documents we had to retract afterwards. Likewise, I think we could not find the best way of dialogue with the newly created political parties. We have not had the appropriate calm and skill to ensure a relaxed atmosphere of real cooperation. Because this is the unique chance now. Perhaps it is also the way in which we failed to maintain an open dialogue with certain social categories. I feel a kind of bitterness when seeing some of the people we liked and still like very much have estranged from us. I am referring, inter alia, to some intellectuals who were close to me and now I feel they have estranged from me and even became hostile to me...

—Position on foreign capital investments in Romania

The penetration into the world economy, the alignment to the techological and scientific progress oblige us to this. But the penetration of foreign capital into the Romanian economy must be well studied taking into account the interests of the Romanian economy and society. It is obvious that without such a form of cooperation with powerful societies we cannot provide for the modernization and competitiveness of the Romanian economy. Certainly, there are also dangers but there is no other solution but the variant of an autarchic economy which proved bankrupt. One cannot conceive a modern economy without connecting it to the world economy.

—The patrimony of the former youth organization

The problem is that now there is no body to represent the Romanian youth as a whole. A form must be found to administrate the patrimony of the former Union of Communist Youth, which should be put at the youth's disposal. There is no intention to use it for other purposes. We have not discussed this problem in detail yet. We shall do it by consulting the youth. I would like the youth to advance constructive proposals in this respect.

—The "Ceausescu" syndrome

The Romanians are temperamental; they make a passion of their ideas and beliefs. But incitement, vendetta, wickedness, hatred even, because there are such manifestations we cannot make an abstraction of, do not help the economic, social and political stabilization of the country. I think we are still sick of the "Ceausescu" syndrom. Mistrust, suspicion, hatred... It is a disease of which we must be cured. As for me, I want to believe I am not a grudge-bearer; I am a constructive man. I wanted to overcome the moments of tension with calm and good understanding. Maybe I have not always been able to do so, but this has been my sincere wish. Even if we cannot do everything well, at least let us try to do no harm.

Iliescu Reviews Romanian Revolution

AU2802180690 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 22 Feb 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "What Does the Country Look Like in Freedom. Opinions by Political Figures: Ion Iliescu, President of the Provisional National Unity Council"]

[Text] One can say that, in many respects, the Romanian revolution was an original one. Through its spontaneous nature, scope, and the degree of cohesion of the revolutionary forces, as well as through the force of actions of these forces and the extent of the effect on the structures of the former regime, the revolution marked a distinct moment in the profound transformations in East Europe in general.

The victory of the revolution is the beneficial consequence of a genuine national consensus on the basis of which all those who adhere to a system of values characterized by dignity, democracy, and freedom—workers, intellectuals, youth, peasants, and military, irrespective of nationality—have accepted the risk of the supreme sacrifice to overthrow the dictatorship through their struggle and sacrifice.

Two months ago our country embarked on a new road. The structures of a genuine political activity, of a pluralist and democratic system have emerged and are developing. Parties, trade unions, and professional associations have been created to express the variety of interests and aspirations of the present-day Romanian society.

This development process has faced and continues to face serious difficulties, which are hard to overcome; these difficulties were generated by the tough inheritance in the economic and social area and are directly reflected in people's life, they were generated by the inertia of the former state structures, which are impossible to eliminate in such a short time.

The current stage is characterized by complex and contradictory processes. We have to be aware of both the frailty of the newly emerged political structures and of the action of some forces that want to destabilize the

country, make its governing difficult, and that want to hamper the management of an economy that is confronted with serious difficulties as it is. The actions by these forces do nothing but accentuate tension, disturbances, and the suspicion inherited from the former regime.

The path from the dictatorship to democracy is a complicated one strewn with numerous obstacles, which cannot be overcome in a short time. Impatience can turn against us, completely wiping out our gains achieved so far. Let us not forget that movement in the opposite direction is much easier, and the forces that want to destabilize us are very well aware of this.

Despite the difficulties we are confronted with, we have the necessary prerequisites to annihilate those forces in order to continue and deepen the process of democratizing the Romanian society. The political consensus on which the platform of action of the Provisional National Unity Council—which was created following the 1 February 1990 accord—is based, affords us a historic chance in this respect.

We call on all the lucid minds in this country and on all social and political forces interested in a normal democratic development, asking them to contribute to the achievement of this desideratum and not to permit the deterioration of the atmosphere of understanding and national consensus. First, let us prepare the first free elections after decades of dictatorship in peace, thus giving the people the possibility to decide on those who are to assume responsibility for the country's destiny and to ensure its stability.

Newspaper Alleges Iliescu-Gorbachev Connection

PM2802122090 Paris LE MONDE in French 28 Feb 90 p 4

[Patrice Claude dispatch: "The Mystery of Relations With Mikhail Gorbachev...."]

[Text] Bucharest—Did Ion Iliescu maintain personal relations with Mikhail Gorbachev at the Soviet Molotov Institute for party cadres in the sixties or did he not? "No," he replied, "we never met."

The fact remains that the rumor of this special relationship "perhaps" saved his life during summer 1989. One of his conversations with General Militaru, defense minister in the Front's provisional government for six weeks, was recorded at the time by the Securitate. Walking quietly in a public park, "the two men," according to current Prime Minister Petre Roman, "discussed the need to overthrow the dictatorship." Strangely enough, although he was later summoned by the Securitate, nothing serious happened to him. General Militaru had been struck off the active list for several years and Ion Iliescu had been pushed to the fringes. But, nonetheless....

"The explanation," we were told by somebody close to the current leader, "is that Ceausescu firmly believed the rumor about Iliescu and Gorbachev, and nobody did anything to persuade him that it was not true...." Whatever the facts, "during Mr. Gorbachev's visit to Bucharest for the Warsaw Pact meeting (in July 1989)" Mr. Iliescu said with a broad smile, "I was sent away from the capital to the provinces for three days...."

Stanculescu, Hungary's Defense Minister Meet

LD2802120890 Budapest MTI in English 1127 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, February 28 (MTI)—On Wednesday morning, Ferenc Karati, Hungarian minister of defence, currently on an official visit to Bucharest as the guest of Colonel-General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu, Romanian minister of defence, laid a wreath at the monument to the heroes of the popular revolution in Revolution Square.

In the course of the morning, Romanian-Hungarian military talks started in the ministry, with the two defence ministers briefing each other on the situation of their armies and the tasks ahead.

Later, negotiations broke off for a short while when Prime Minister Petre Roman received Mr Karpati, accompanied Mr Stanculescu, in his office. The meeting was also attended by Pal Szuts, Hungarian ambassador to Bucharest.

The two ministers then resumed their working meeting.

At noon, a gala lunch will be given in honour of Ferenc Karpati, and in the afternoon, a press conference will be held in the Hungarian embassy.

The Hungarian military delegation headed by Ferenc Karpati is due to fly back to Budapest late this afternoon.

NSF Willingness To Implement Democracy Assessed

AU2802151390 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Feb 90 pp 1,5

[Octavian Paler article: "Several Explanations"]

[Text] There are moments when my desire to say what I think—during these days, which have a touch of psychological warfare—seems a crazy desire, especially when I realize that, despite my statements that I have no political ambitions, absolutely none, I am suspect. What do I want to achieve? Gentlemen, just imagine, nothing. My craziness, if to be honest means that one is crazy, has a simple explanation. I understand, or I imagine I do, what those people feel who are confused by the mire which is swallowing up the purity of the revolution. Their hope was that after so many sacrifices—in contrast with other peoples in the East which did not have to take the road of bloody salvation—they would be entitled to more than just perestroyka. Full of optimism and enthusiasm,

they hoped, that after a devastating dictatorship, they were going to witness a great miracle of Romanian regeneration, and not a struggle for power. They were hoping that the totalitarian structures, fear, the Securitate [former Intelligence Service], and the morals and mentalities established by communism would be eliminated one by one; they expected that the harm caused by prolonged historic distortion would heal gradually, so that a genuine national reconciliation could be reached. I understand, or I have the impression that I understand all this. What is more difficult to understand, is the real train of thought of those who note our—more or less justified—worries with ill will. Forgive me, gentlemen, but why do you think that we are wrong? Do we have to explain? Well, here you are.

Eight weeks ago the Romanian revolution amazed the world. Loud voices full of admiration were crossing each other in the ether, in all the languages of this earth. Detractors of the Romanian's patience made their excuses. It was compared to the French revolution. Romania made the front page of newspapers, all by itself, and no one confused Bucharest with other capitals. The enthusiasm was so great that the desire to lend us a brotherly helping hand, so that we could overcome the economic standstill, was very strong. In just a few days the Romanian people were able to place Romania in front of all the other Eastern countries in the process of regaining freedom after the decades of totalitarian stagnation that followed World War II. In the other Eastern countries, the Communist Parties were still in power; they were participating in coalition governments or were changing their name. In our country, the Communist Party was compromised and collapsed, together with the dictatorship to which it was attached. In other countries in the East there was talk about a metamorphosis of the system. In our country there was a break. Ruin was blended with the genesis. Suddenly, the most daring illusions became possible... And now, just peruse some of the great newspapers of the world in the past eight weeks, as I did. You will note that not only has the fatal wear and tear of events pushed the Romanian revolution away from the front page, to somewhere on an inner page, but also that commentaries are more and more marked by doubts and reticence. In the chronicle of renewals, we have gradually been placed again behind Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR, which are rapidly progressing toward a market-oriented economy and toward a democracy purged of the vestiges of the communist system. In our country, the Communist Party is viewed as an irreversible reality of the past, while the structures of the former regime—instead of being destroyed—are being just retouched or—here and there—even consolidated. It seems that the market-oriented economy has turned into a manipulated scarecrow to dishearten the revolutionary elan and to mobilize the workers for counterdemonstrations. Western democracy has become the target for attacks, sometimes resembling—like two drops of water—that which was taught in ideological courses during the dictatorship; in contrast to this a simple theory of an "original road" is promoted. The first trial brought against Ceausescu's acolytes led to confusion which has not been clarified. It was more than obvious that the court did not yet want to put at stake the system that made Ceausescu's camarilla possible; it tried very hard to turn the trial into a simple penal one. The president of the judicial team seemed decided not to let the defendants make undesirable revelations (undesirable for whom?)... Thus, the first problem that arises is of a moral and civic nature. How can we suppress the impression that in these eight weeks we have become the witnesses to a strange setback; instead of being closer to genuine democracy than others, as we were in December, we lag behind them; instead of reentering Europe purged of the nightmare of the totalitarian regime, we are groping somewhere between native perestroyka and vague theories; and how can we suppress the impression that in this way the miracle of the Romanian revolution is gradually losing its sense or is risking losing its sense, brilliance, and historic consequences.

The second problem is of a political order. Do we have to choose between the ideas of the revolution and those of the National Salvation Front? We thought that the ideas of the Front are those of the revolution and that "national salvation" means faithfulness to the purifying sense of the revolution. Otherwise we would have to talk about theft of the revolution with all the consequences resulting from placing the interests in power above those of the country.

Those of you, who, I repeat, view our more or less justified worries with ill will, what do you wish? Maybe the time has come to provide an answer at least for you yourselves. Do you wish that the inscriptions on Bucharest's walls, dating back to the days of the revolution, and saying that the Romanians no longer want communism, no matter what its face, to be wiped off? Do you want the Securitate to resume its pursuits, to organize fear once again, to infiltrate once again, as it has begun to do, it seems, into our whole society? Do you want us to have only one foot in Europe and to preserve our complexes toward others? Do you want us to be isolated from the world once again? Do you want us to relive our memories? Do you want us to live in an indiscriminate mixture of ideology and popular authoritarianism? Do you want the Romanians to go into exile once again, while at home capitalist hell is being slandered? Do you want us to know once again what lies taste like? Do you want everything we hoped for in December of 1989 to remain a beautiful dream, a miracle about which people will say, as I have already heard some say, that it could not last? Do you want us to learn again how to "cope," to learn again how to endure history, each of us in his own shell of horrors and precautions? If not, then I have nothing to add. May the Lord help us, if he still wants to.

P.S. I hear all sorts of confusing things which stop me from withdrawing in silence, as I promised myself several times. I thought I was living in a country where a revolution had taken place, including one against the dark ethics of the former regime. I might decide to write

a book, with genuine characters, about everything that is happening to me and that I hear of late. I promise. I swear.

Article on Need To End Violence

AU2802203590 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

[Octavian Paler article: "Causes and Effects"]

[Text] If I cared for anecdotes, I would say that we are in a hurry to treat the symptoms rather than the causes of the disease itself, exactly like the Mexican in the famous and true story, who put a bullet through his head to get rid of a splitting headache. However, I do not care for anecdotes. Besides, I am more and more confused. The political atmosphere has turned poisonous. Enthusiasm has degenerated into fury. The pent-up hatred against the dictatorship is vented at random now that its object no longer exists. All political forces conjure up the dead and the martyrs, and are afraid lest others should get a start in the assault for power. The euphoria of the first days after the revolution has given way—as is more and more obvious—to a dangerous social and political crisis in which each one claims that he wants the well-being of the country; but where is that well-being? For the time being it appears in the form of evil. The country is more and more torn apart, while we, as individuals, are becoming more and more concerned and confused. If you venture an opinion you risk an answer not based on proof but on threats. And maybe, before being afraid of a new dictatorship, we should be afraid of ourselves.

Everybody agrees that violence is loathsome, particularly for us at this point. We are tired, overwhelmed by our own inner violence, by suspicion—with or without reason—which has sickened street psychology. We feel the effects after so many weeks of tension, demonstrations, counterdemonstrations, uncertainty, rumors, fear, and calls for quietude, which do nothing but increase disquietude, and after so many weeks of desire for stability and of staged attacks—staged by whom—which confuse and destabilize things—in whose favor? Could the revolution turn into a guerrilla war that actually exhausts all of us? Who is interested in such a thing? Could these actions be behind-the-scenes maneuvers aimed further than we can see, or could they be simply regrettable incidents? I feel unable to shed light on this dilemma. I do not have the necessary information. All I know is that the frankness I am dreaming of does not exist, and that neither in the street nor among the political forces is there a genuine dialogue in order to prevent the danger of increasing confusion and of turning pluralism into a mere demagogic fiction.

I still ask myself: How is it the symptoms are being treated rather than the disease itself? Since consensus has been reached, it seems—at least in principle—that there is no reason why the ghost of communism should haunt Romania any longer, because 40 years have been enough to know what it is all about. Why are no tangible and comprehensive conclusions drawn from this? Given the fact that all people agree—or I hope that they agree—that totalitarianism has not only pushed us to economic, social, and moral ruin, but also to the threshold of a catastrophe of our national identity and our place in the world and in history, why should one not clearly say that an overt or covert attempt at prolonging totalitarian structures, customs, and methods are directly at variance with the interests of Romania as an anti-national and thus a treacherous policy? Why has the Provisional National Unity Council not adopted a clear program to begin dismantling totalitarian structures and to eliminate the totalitarian spirit, so that the election campaign is freed from the specter of prolonging—in any form—the former regime? I think it would be a proper way to calm down Romanian public opinion. Maybe thus we would be spared the acts of more than regrettable violence as those being directed against the government and parties, from which the world gets the wrong impression about us and which harm the prestige of the revolution; or, if they were deliberate acts of violence within a screenplay of which we, the ignorants, are not aware, the pretexts used by those who play with fire at our expense would decrease.

Anyhow, among so many uncertainties, one thing is sure. Inflaming tension will do nothing but harm the country. Consequently, the causes are worthy of at least the same attention as the effects. Could it be that those who have a soft spot in their heart for "strong" arguments, and who close the discussion instead of facilitating it, are not aware that in this way mistrust increases even more, and that they are launching a boomerang? That, instead of healing our wounds generated by the dictatorship, new ones are going to be inflicted on us? The counterdemonstration has damaged relations between the workers and intellectuals in an absurd way. Now there is another type of and equally absurd psychological rift. No one doubted the need to accuse the acts of vandalism on Sunday. However, why did the acts of a minority—either manipulated or a victim of its own uncivilized behavior—bring the miners to Bucharest to overshadow the reasons, that led to a peaceful demonstration of Bucharest residents, and to give the utterly insulting impression that Bucharest, a martyr like Timisoara through the heavy toll it took during the revolution, was, good Lord, a counterrevolutionary city?

Is there someone who wants to bring about such a rift, to "defend" the revolution—if need be with "the cudgel," as we learned stupefied from the television—against whom? Against those who have overthrown the dictatorship? I hope that the irresponsible pleasure to command "civilian troops" in a country traumatized by fear and hopes is an interpretation belonging to the realm of the imagination and not reality. I was all the more confused by the fact that no one in the provisional government thought it proper to draw attention, including the miners, to the fact that there have been enough heartrending events in our life, and that there is no need to add to them. Maybe the real problem of the latest counterdemonstration is not what it cost for so many

thousands of people to come from Jiu Valley to Bucharest, not even the coal that was not extracted, but rather the disquietude that was justifiably added to the old one. It cannot be in the interest of the country that a social or professional category—whichever it may be—be opposed to others and turned into a means of repression and psychological terror. Such a thing makes you think of very serious events in the European history of this century.

The dream of any unfettering is to restore the rights of individuals who were crushed—as we were—by the totalitarian state. I am afraid that at this point, the individual is threatened with becoming lonely and frightened once again. The way it happens when he has the feeling that what is pursued is not his persuasion, but his subjugation. I have overheard alarming questions in the streets. Are we really not ready to return to Europe? Has Ceausescu destroyed our capability of being Europeans? It has to be said that everything that smacks of totalitarianism, everything that exacerbates tension, and everything that jeopardizes our chance to achieve genuine democracy pushes us back to the hell of isolation from the world. Those who incite Romanians to hate other Romanians or seek pleasure in provoking fear, in humiliating, and in turning some of us against others, assume tremendous responsibility. After so much historic disgrace, it is high time to place our country's interests above interests in power.

600,000 Members in Hungarian Union

AU2802112790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0935 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/2/1990—The third meeting of representatives of the Magyars' Democratic Union of Romania took place at Sfintu Gheorghe, on February 24-25. As many as 200 delegates represented the 600,000-strong membership of the union.

The agenda included the analysis of the work done so far and established the future activity lines, debates on the draft program and Statute, the election of the Provisional National Executive Committee and the assessment of the questions connected with the preparation of the union's congress due in Oradea, on April 7-8.

The members of the Provisional Executive Committee were elected, as well as an Executive Committee of eleven, presided over by Domokos Geza.

The participants in the meeting and Sfintu Gheorghe residents attended a religious service held by Reverend Laszlo Tokes in Romanian and Hungarian, on Sunday, February 25.

19 Feb Miners Actions 'Threat' to Pluralism

AU2302190190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1813 GMT 23 Feb 90

["Agora—The Proletarian Piston"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/2/1990—It would have been good if the miners who travelled more than 700 km to Bucharest and back home on 19 February out of concern for the country had fulfilled their original promise, namely that they had not come "to make policy." Daily "ROMANIA LIBERA" notes. Because, it says, starting from the reprobate facts that fall under the incidence of the law "everything that followed turned into a true show of force, it amounted to a warning issued by miners to the civilian society."

In the opinion of the said newspaper, such actions "do as little service to democracy as the very facts that made them to travel to Bucharest."

Launching the idea that on 19 February the miners assumed responsibility for a vision extended to the dimensions of the country, "ROMANIA LIBERA" makes this point: "there are in this country several social segments, and the miners certainly did not have the mandate to speak also in the name of others... By showing how they were ready to control it, the miners actually showed that they controlled it from a position of strength precisely in order not to be ... controlled."

Daily "DREPTATEA" through its editor Gheorghe Copil asks the miners in Jiu Valley if they know "the security agents and informers among them." "It is obvious" the letter to miners says "that what is happening now, with groups of people being pitted one against other, is being done through an organized network, and the only organized network is the communist one."

Commenting on how the miners in Jiu Valley understood to defend the government, daily "ADEVARUL" says among other things that, just as on 12 and 29 January, the blame put on miners after 18 February is essentially the same, namely that "the proletarian piston is a threat to the frail pluralist competence."

What is apparently a matter of style and method, "ADEVARUL" stresses, threatens to develop into a very serious polarization of forces and options.... A division of political tastes into the intellectual equivocal and the proletarian univocal raises the danger still small at this stage, but growing in perspective of contradictions between workers and intellectuals ... Which would be a social divorce with irreparable historical consequences."

Accusations Against Interior Minister 'Not True'

AU2802184790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] As a result of the activities to date carried out by the commission set up in Timisoara, through a government decision, the conclusion has been reached that the accusations brought against Interior Minister Colonel General Mihai Chitac are not true, thus confirming previous depositions in this respect. The commission is continuing its investigation of the December 1989 events in Timisoara.

Hungarian Textbooks Not 'Suitable' for Teaching

AU2802193990 Bucharst ROMPRES in English 1808 GMT 28 Feb 90

["Communique of the Ministries of Culture and Instruction"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/2/1990—The news agency "ROMPRES" received the following communique sent by the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Instruction: Recently there were rumours both in this country and abroad saying our customs bodies had seized books sent to Romania complying with recommendations made by the two ministries to the effect that books should be sent to ministries or central institutions alone. The respective rumours are groundless as there were no such recommendations. The Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Instruction consider that free movement of ideas and spiritual assets is one of the fundamental principles of any democracy and that conditions have been put in place in this country for this principle to be fully observed. Consequently, any restrictive interpretation of that principle runs counter to the open spirit in which we wish to promote international cultural dialogue and is an attempt at reverting to the censorship of ideas.

In line with customs regulations in force, any institution or private individual is entitled to receive parcels containing books provided that they should not be meant for sale, as books and other material assets can be sold by authorized enterprises alone.

As for certain classes of books—especially schoolbooks sent from Hungary—we believe they may be suitable as documentary materials for experts and can be included in libraries, but they cannot be used as teaching material in the instructional processes.

Ceausescu's Brother Nicolae Andruta Indicted

AU2802194590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1818 GMT 28 Feb 90

["Legal Agenda—File Against Defendant Nicolae Andruta Ceausescu"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/2/1990—Under an indictment of the General Procurator's Office, the Military Procurator Bodies Directorate of Romania, defendant Nicolae Andruta Ceausescu, formerly placed under arrest, was sent to the Supreme Court on charges of instigation to genocide, without execution, violent crime, attempted murder and unobservance of the weapon-and-ammunition regime. The defendant, a former lieutenant colonel, was the commander of the Officers' School of the Ministry of the Interior at Baneasa, in Bucharest over 1980-1989. On December 21, 1989, upon orders by Colonel General Iulian Vlad, the defendant moved the entire combat-ready school staff to the central part of Bucharest where a strong anti-Ceausescu popular demonstration was in progress. The defendant, armed with a pistol and bullets, took serious action to reprimand the demonstrators. He shot some 30 fires at large, compact groups of people. [sentence as received] As a result, seven people aged 17 to 37—including a woman 27 years of age—were killed.

After the victorious people's revolution, the defendant was seized by a group of officers on the morning of December 23, 1989 in a farm where he had hidden together with his wife. Following a search to his house a gun with night scope and 695 bullets were found, along with a cheque for 632,914 lei and other valuables.

FRG Aid Greater Than Total Aid From Abroad

AU2802215290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1942 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/2/1990—Referring to the aid the West German Government sent to Romania, Mr Klaus Terfloth, ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in Bucharest, told a "ROMPRES" writer: Right after the December revolution we drew up a list with Romania's priority requirements in point of energy, medicines and food, which we submitted to the Federal Government. In response, Romania has already received energy aid for two months and a substantial amount of medical supplies from the West German Government. On March 3 a plane will land in Romania carrying large amounts of medical supplies. Furthermore, a 150-car convoy will arrive here soon to bring in food. The official aid granted by the West German Government is worth 75 million D.M. [Deutsche marks], more than the total aid sent to Romania by all the other countries.

Adding to all this is the substantial private aid which we cannot put in figures as it was a result of local initiative. So, for instance, farm machines were sent to farmers in various parts of the country by a commune in West Germany. Like aid was sent to numerous other towns and communes in Romania.

Brucan: 'Romania Lags 15-20 Years Behind'

AU2802191890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1559 GMT 28 Feb 90

["Scope of Mystification: A Strategy of Underdevelopment"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/2/1990—During the years of Ceausescu's dictatorship, Romania had become the first country in history to have deliberately planned its underdevelopment politologist Silviu Brucan writes in an article in the independent daily "ADEVARUL," showing that in fact the economic strategy went hand in hand with social and cultural policies. A sort of division of work existed, as Nicolae Ceausescu destroyed the economy and Elena ruined the culture, Brucan mentions.

Evincing that all the investments made by the dictator followed Stalin's model, the author dwells on the most serious consequences on Romania's general situation triggered by large investment in big energy and raw materials consumer branches. In context, the author mentions the machine construction and metal-working, which required vast imports of iron ore and coke, while the exports of these branches were not profitable. As for the oil industry, it had been developed to process 36 million tons per year, while the oil extraction in our country dropped to 10 million tons. The difference was covered by imports, mostly on a barter basis. In all likelihood the most disastrous investment, the author points out, was the thermo-power industry, where a string of works were built relying on the low-grade coal of Oltenia with a high crystal content which damaged the installations. Neither the five-year plans of the 80s nor the long-term plans provided for any serious investment in peak technologies.

In spite of the declarations of the two tyrants concerning the promotion of the technico-scientific revolution, Romania turned its back on this revolution, the author points out.

Surveying the disastrous effects of Ceausescu's strategy of underdevelopment meant to halt the course of the country's history at the point where the tyrants could stay in power, Silviu Brucan winds up: The tragic result is that Romania lags 15-20 years behind the West European countries; our main strategy today to become indeed an European state is to make up for these arrears in the shortest possible time.

* Brucan Views Transformations in East Europe

90EB0275A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Article by Silviu Brucan: "The World Must Be Reconsidered"]

[Text] Among all the vices of the "realistic socialism" that dominated the ideology and politics of East European countries after World War II, the worst were theoretical stagnation and atrophied thinking.

Over half a century of thought interdiction and of preserving social theory in a Stalinist deep-freeze are now furiously taking their revenge. We don't know where we are or in what direction the world is going, and we don't have a model for the world of the year 2000, a theme that has elicited ever so numerous debates and confrontations of ideas in the West. Among all the human rights and freedoms, I believe that freedom of thought is the most important and the one that makes the crucial differentiation between man and other living beings.

Let us recall that the intellectual repression imposed by the Inquisition in Italy and Spain, where the Renaissance had burst forth with its great scientific discoveries, caused the center of scientific thinking and research to shift to northern Europe and England. Is it not a fact that the intellectual repression in the East caused a similar shift of scientific thinking and study to the West?

In modern society, social theory serves as a guide for practical action and for politics, too. In the century of global communication and universally instantaneous information, the international political situation is changing so fast that at times a political decision made one day may appear obsolete the next day if it was not thought out with the foreseeable future in mind. Thus, the declaration of East German Prime Minister Hans Modrow in favor of German reunification on the condition that a unified Germany become a neutral country, has produced formidable reverberations throughout world politics! Overnight, NATO's entire strategy came into question, and the very fate of the North Atlantic pact will have to be reconsidered, not to mention the extraordinary impact of such a change on Soviet strategy and on the Warsaw Pact.

Without a theory we can do nothing but grope in the dark. Suffice it to mention that at its 27th Congress in 1986, the CPSU adopted a resolution stating that in the Soviet Union the nationalities problem had been successfully resolved, only to see ethnic conflict erupt shortly thereafter in Armenia, Azerbidjan, Georgia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Everything that followed only emphasized the lack of a valid theory on the nationalities issue.

What is happening in the Hungarian, Yugoslav, and Polish economies clearly highlights the lack of an economic theory permitting a transition from centralized planning to a market economy without suffering the

anarchic effects of market forces resulting in inflation, unemployment, and recession. The West European economy is currently enjoying a favorable conjecture, but unemployment remains high, and governments go on alert at the slightest rise in inflation. They intervene in the economy without bothering about the principles of liberalism and free initiative, and for that purpose they maintain control of a large public sector. Even in the United States, the Federal Reserve Bank intervenes by raising bank interest whenever the economy "heats up" and inflation threatens to get out of control. It is only we in the East whom they advise to go quickly and completely to a market economy.

And finally, Stalin's dichotomous theory of a world divided into two camps (capitalist and socialist) and of an international market divided along the same ideological criteria, lasted for decades in the untroubled communist literature although it was probably the most crass aberration in the history of social sciences. In my work, I have long maintained that:

1. The radical changes inside the socialist countries have not radically changed either the structure of the international system or its basic principles, which stem not from ideology but from interstate differences of strength, wealth, and development.

2. The international market never did and never will collapse according to ideological criteria for the simple reason that it functions according to objective economic laws that both the capitalist and the socialist countries must take into account, as the East European leaders discovered with bitterness and irritation when their economies were shaken by international market fluctuations. In short, the world economy is a hierarchic system in which Western capitalism has the upper hand, something that allows it to decide the rules of the game in the international market.

The Stalinist aberration prevented us from realizing that we now have to deal with a global, world system, in which information is instantaneous, communication is universal, transportation is supersonic, and weapons are planetary from the viewpoint of both range and power of destruction. The scientific-technical revolution has changed virtually the entire international environment, and in this new context, global problems (the threat of nuclear war and mankind's survival, underdevelopment in two-thirds of the world, pollution and environmental destruction, the demographic explosion, etc.) overshadow in importance all the divisions and contradictions existing in the world, including conflicts between classes and the ideologies they generate. Generally speaking, the role of ideology in international politics differs from what it is within a given society (see the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, as well as the Reagan-Gorbachev accord).

Global politics open up prospects for new thinking in the present and future world. This does not mean that the national state is no longer an actor on the international stage. The contradictions between the superpowers and between developed and developing countries have not disappeared, and neither have ideological and religious antagonisms.

Our present task is to identify all the forces that operate in international politics, estimate the relative influence of each one of them, and study the manner in which they act in a world of interdependence, as well as the directions that things are apt to take in the future.

* Partisan Strife, Power Void Deplored

90EB0286B Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 15 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

[Article by Atty P.C. Vlahide and Professor C. Pintilie: "A Resounding Void"]

[Text] By the end of a 45-year era, Virgil's famous line, "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas" (Fortunate is he who has been able to learn the causes of things) has become—from an admiring comment on the happiness of those who can grasp the cause of things—a slogan to reassure those who no longer need to make an effort to learn the causes of things.

The revolution, however, has returned us to the point at which we were almost half a century ago, i.e., to the need to independently think out what we have to do. The facts are so amazing in their feverish succession, that, speaking in paradigms, we must admit that we are forced to think "at the speed of thought" [as published] to know what needs to be done. The 22 December Revolution stunned us with the speed with which it occurred and the radical nature of the changes it engendered; at the same time, it disoriented us by the novelty and instability of the political structures that replaced the old ones. Everything happened overnight!...

As was to be expected, the competition has already begun. The proliferation of parties and partisan appeals explains each one's appetite for power. Public opinion, unleashed in public squares, now wants to dictate decisions, invoking long-forgotten human rights, known unfortunately only through a vague intuition not backed up by even the most elementary information.

A power vacuum inevitably came into being. The National Salvation Front [NSF] Council, riddled by contradictions, is a negation of the consistency and resolution that must characterize state power. Loquacious speeches on the theme of democracy and freedom by now border on demagoguery in institutions and enterprises. Thus, Eminescu's words in the article dedicated to Prince Grigore Ghica, "A country in which everyone gives orders and no one listens..." are coming true.

The recent transformation of the NSF Council into the Provisional Council of National Unity—a purely superficial move—cannot solve anything as long as power is exercized by a monster with dozens of heads, made up of

over 35 parties and political groups capable only of fighting among themselves for political followship. The disputes frequently breaking out on minor and personal issues are symptomatic of the danger of failure to control the situation. The parties are very interested in denouncing and clearly proving the inability of the Front, the Council, and the government to govern in the present conditions; this creates a very serious situation that no amount of goodwill, however sincere, can resolve.

The urgency of the solution is predicated by the threat of imminent disaster. This January, salaries were paid out without full returns in products and services. The enactment of 21 decrees (true, fully justified), such as reducing the price of gas and electricity, will increase people's incomes by 38 billion lei, while another 10 decrees—now in the process of being approved—will add another 20 billion lei to money circulation. The question is, however, whether we have the goods and services to back up this huge increase in income. The January pattern of salary payment needs only two to three months to become a system and to unleash the kind of inflation that is the bane of post-revolutionary times, when money is not worth more than the paper on which it is printed. The recent measure on selling state owned houses is only a panacea, as long as the production apparatus does not begin to produce at full capacity to justify the salaries paid. But an even greater threat is hovering on the horizon. In agriculture, where the agricultural campaign should be in full swing in two to three weeks, only 80,000 tractors work out of a fleet of 160,000. Other farming preparations are stagnating while the village population is absorbed in politics.

Political struggles have been rekindled within the newly reshuffled Council, too, namely the Council of National Unity, to match those in institutions and enterprises. Ad-hominem squabbling has successfully replaced debates on ideas, violating public interests in the process. The signs of political and economic destabilization are too obvious to require further expansion.

We are in a complete crisis of authority. In the economy, the crisis is taking the form of poverty, while in politics it translates into disorder, beginning with thinking disorder. The vacuum is becoming loud and the echoing emptiness reaches far and wide.

The facts, which, especially in politics, create legal situations (ex facta just oritur) prompt us to reflect on possible solutions. State sovereignty must be anchored in stability. This is also a matter of prestige, of psychology, which explains the need for an authoritative and single body to represent our sovereignty. We must as soon as possible elect by universal ballot a president invested with decisionmaking powers, so as to restore confidence in the capability of taking the necessary measures and firmly implementing them.

There are sufficient choices for electing a president. The least recommendable is that of election by parliament, as envisaged in the draft decision concerning the May elections, because that can prolong and exacerbate the state of chaos. Besides, if the May elections give one party the majority, that party will form the government and elect the president, who will represent those who elected him, rather than the entire country. It is also possible that no party will win a majority, in which case the election of a president will depend on various agreements and coalitions among parties, with all the negative consequences deriving thereof. That is precisely the system that failed in France under the Third Republic, causing frequent instability and changes of governments and, because of political cabals, removing from the leadership the most prominent public figures.

Which is the best solution for electing a president so as to avert the threat of immediate disaster? In our opinion, it is to immediately organize a referendum which, through universal ballot, would elect a president from a few candidates and invest him with decisionmaking powers for a short period of time—until the May elections, the formation of a parliament, and the vote on a constitution, after which his mandate will cease. The power void can thus be filled, the economy can be stabilized, the looming chaos and collapse can be averted, and conditions can be created for holding quiet and civilized elections.

We cannot elect a long-term president at the moment because we do not have a constitution to determine in what form the state is to exercize its sovereignty and what prerogatives the head of state is to have. Once we have a constitution we can once again go to the polls to elect a long-term president in accordance with the constitution. Ideally, the new constitution will provide for the president to be elected by the people through universal ballot according to the French model, because that model can guarantee authority and stability, the president being the president of the people, directly elected by them, not of the parties.

To sum up, in view of the situation created by the revolution, everything in our country is now out of the ordinary. In exceptional situations the solutions can only be exceptional, too, as required by the realities. And the first order of the day is to save the Republic by saving the economy.

* Chairman of Social Democratic Party Interviewed

90EB0275B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Feb 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Sergiu Cunescu, chairman of the Romanian Social Democratic Party, by Cornelia Simionescu; place and date not given]

[Text] [ROMANIA LIBERA] After more than four decades, the Romanian Social Democratic Party is back in the political arena. As party chairman, Mr. Sergiu Cunescu, please begin by describing your platform.

[Cunescu] Our platform is the same as 100 years ago when the party was founded: to struggle for a society in which all the citizens—men, women, and children—can exercise their rights and capitalize on their natural resources, talents, and intiative. We are in favor of ensuring and respecting all fundamental freedoms—the freedom of expression and of free association—and [we are] for mutual respect, whatever our faith or nationality.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] As far as material existence is concerned, how does your party platform envisage the manifestation of our freedom?
[Cunescu] Social democracy pursues and struggles to build a society based on work, but a work based on individual intiative and practiced in each person's interests. In view of the fact that by nature people cannot be completely equal, social democracy aims at minimizing differences, especially differences of income. We are not for egalitarianism, but neither are we for a society with vast differences in living standards. Along this line I want to cite the example of the Scandinavian countries, in which social democracy has attained an almost perfect situation in this respect. It seems that Norway is the country that has succeeded in creating the closest living standards among all categories of working people.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Would that be possible in our country?
[Cunescu] As soon as our Romanian consciousness is reborn from all viewpoints and completely freed from fear (because it has not yet totally rid itself of fear), and as soon as the entire nation can work with confidence, there will obviously be greater or smaller successes for individuals or for certain categories in the society. We envisage a progressive income tax system, so that the largest share of revenues of individuals or categories of people with the largest assets and material advantages can benefit the entire society. Modern social democracy—because at present there exists a very well defined modern social democracy in West Europe, which is our ideal—is a verifiably very efficient policy. Modern social democracy views free market competition as an absolute must and as the means of regulating efficiency on an ongoing basis.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] How do you see the Romanian economy integrating within the laws of the free market and competition?
[Cunescu] We propose the gradual implementation of certain distinct solutions. Its slogan being development through stability, our party believes that the path to genuine democracy and to an efficient economy must proceed from the situation given and that the abrupt introduction of new mechanisms may cause damaging consequences. As for our general national interests—such as mining, the national power system, irrigation systems, railways, telecommunications, and of course, the defense industry—our party believes that they should remain under state control for a very long time to come, if not forever. The same ownership system should apply to other vital enterprises, such as the 23 August enterprises, the Resita Construction-Assembly Plant, Progresul Braila, and tractors and truck plants which, like the Renault plant, for example, will function as autonomous state enterprises, but having to be competitive. Small enterprises (cooperatives or local enterprises) can be privatized, in our opinion, as limited or private firms. In between those two extremes we will have all the other enterprises of various capacities and potentials, whose future will be decided by those who work in them. Many will probably become incorporated associations, whose shareholders will be the workers themselves.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] To become a shareholder in an enterprise, a worker has to buy shares. The enterprise, however, is still a collective asset. It has already been paid for by people's work...
[Cunescu] We have to hammer out legislation to clarify the problem and regulate a long term takeover of shares. We do not rule out allocating shares to the personnel of such enterprises, who would not have to pay for them. This is one alternative; another is to obtain shares on the basis of very long term loans.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] A big problem for very many of us is the question whether major share holders will not become those who exploited us in a multitude of ways, deepening our poverty?
[Cunescu] This is a problem with which our party is wrestling, too, considering the fact that the flaws and corruption of the former system allowed certain favored categories of people to obtain great amounts of money illicitely. Future laws will have to devise means of barring their access.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] What role do you think the trade unions can play in promoting genuine options for the workers?
[Cunescu] Social democracy places major emphasis on trade unions. That is the reason for which we chose to present our party program later than other parties, thinking that in the first days after the revolution the most important thing was to form trade unions and associations. People's primary interests concern their professions and jobs. After an initial period of confusion, workers are now beginning to realize what a real trade union is. Trade unions are now being organized thoroughout the country, and we are convinced that they will play an extraordinary role in the life of our society, becoming the first popular school of democracy.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] In your opinion, how and when will democracy make up for its long absence from our country?
[Cunescu] I am positive that our political life will be democratically restructured very soon. I trust that Romania will give the world an example from the viewpoint of the speed with which true democracy will be introduced. My belief is based on the extraordinary political instinct shown during the revolution, the clarity and maturity of our ideals, and the intelligence of the people, which are the basic guarantees that democracy

will be promoted. We must all be involved in politics, in the sense that we must all be informed, think, discuss, and find out about the great political decisions that are being made, thus preparing for election day when we will have to decide what our option is to be for Romania's future development.

* Disinformation, Restrictions on Freedom Alleged

90EB0275C Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Florin-Gabriel Marculescu article: "The New Faces of Terrorism"]

[Text] The euphoria of victory was, unfortunately, short lived. It didn't last more than a few hours on the afternoon of 22 December. With nightfall, the first shots were heard in the Revolution Square. Speeches were interrupted by thousands of voices shouting: "They're shooting!" From the balcony, someone was trying to persuade us that it was nothing but a blunder by some soldier inadvertently firing his gun. Unfortunately, that was not the truth.... The criminal shooting continued to intensify, causing fresh victims among those who refused to leave the site of the most beautiful victory in our entire history.

Days of confrontations followed, when the Army took upon itself the termination of the securitate [as published] members who, with a fanaticism difficult to understand, were continuing to kill in the name of an irreparably lost cause. More victims fell. How many? We do not know. The execution of the dictatorial couple had the effect of abruptly silencing the armed terrorism.

People's worries abated and hopes were reborn. But something of the purity of the beginning had disappeared. New general tensions followed the attempt to divert the ideals of the revolution, the ideals for which young people had given their lives.

A few days ago, the establishment of the National Unity Provisional Council marked the emergence of a solution for, we hope, relative political balance, designed to stabilize our social and economic life.

We are not naive. We know that freedom goes against the interests of all those who until the recent past fully capitalized on the advantages of the ceausescu [as published] dictatorship. We know who they are. They are free and living among us, mimicking democracy. But deep down they detest it and feel threatened by the prospect of genuine democracy in our country. They are not many, but they have the benefit of political experience. They are masters of demagoguery. They know how to spread their venom without being detected. They are the ones responsible today for the propagation of violence and psychological terrorism. Theirs are the voices who threatened to kill us in the dead of the night. These anonymous voices pretend to be "honest workers." But those "honest workers" incite and distribute clubs. The same "honest workers" widely practice dissent and disinformation. They spread mistrust and cultivate hostility between workers and students. They also cultivate chauvinism, persistently provoking ethnic dissent. "Benevolent" people peddle the poison of mistrust at street corners. Don't listen, they advise us, to those who speak in the name of democracy; they have sold themselves for dollars, they're venal, they're putting the country up for sale...

The disinformation panoply is rich and colorful. Rumors are skillfully launched and there are unfortunately enough people willing to believe them.

All these refined procedures betray a professional hand behind the scenes. Amateurs couldn't act with such dexterity and efficiency. Psychological terrorism, disinformation, and diversion are specialties learned at assiduously attended schools. The purpose of these actions is clear: to break the admirable unity that helped us come out victorious from our barehanded struggle in the days of the uprising. They are trying to divide us so they can rule again. Divide and conquer! The methods used strangely resemble those used by the ceausescu dictatorship. Didn't ceausescu carry on about imperialist schemes? About spies and traitors? Brutality, hatred, and violence, these weeds growing in souls deprived of faith and respect for the elementary norms of human behavior, have their origin in the same ceausescu roots. We recognize the methods, and we know who their practitioners are. However, we want them to know that Romania is engaged upon the path of authentic democracy and that no one wants to feel fear again.

And what do the authorities have to say? Has any of this filtered through their padded doors? And if so, what measures are they taking to restore our peace of mind?

Freedom of expression cannot be stifled. It is a fundamental human right. It belongs to the very essence of democracy, and the state is obligated to guarantee this right. Decrees are being issued to protect the police, but nothing is done to take similar measures to ensure a minimum protection for the man in the street.

These lines were written out of the conviction and desire to contribute as much or as little as we can to establishing a climate of peace and trust, which is indispensable for the work of rebuilding the country. We call out for eliminating terrorism, whatever the mask under which it may try to survive.

Delegations Arrive in Mostar for Kosovo Talks

LD2802180690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Mostar, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Committee for Truth and Return to Kosovo of the Serbs and Montenegrins and of the representatives of Albanian alternative groups—of the Democratic Alliance and of the Peasant Party—as advance parties intimating that the response of all alternative movements, associations, and parties to attend the "Kosovo Dialogue" will be complete, arrived in Mostar during the early afternoon hours today. Representatives of the Bozur association, of the Democratic Party, of the Pristina branch of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative (UJDI), of some other associations, and also the representatives of the Municipal Committee of the League of Communists in Pristina, of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance, and of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance of Working People Federal Conference are due to arrive tonight.

This exceptional response has boosted the hope that a small step forward could be made tomorrow in solving the Kosovo problem. These expectations are shared by over 50 press, radio, and television journalists from throughout the country and from abroad who have arrived in Mostar precisely because they hope that an encouraging move will be made in the solution of the crisis in Kosovo. [Passage omitted citing news conference statements by organizers of the meeting expressing pleasure that the problem will be discussed by all concerned]

Platform for Talks Adopted

LD2802202990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1957 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Mostar, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Today in Mostar representatives of alternative parties reached agreement about the platform which will provide a basis for tomorrow's talks aimed at establishing a dialogue on Kosovo. The seven-point platform will be the basis for tomorrow's meeting, which the Mostar branch of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative organized. The branch invited representatives of alternative parties in Yugoslavia and of sociopolitical organizations.

Although it was expected that Jelene Milojevic, president of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia Federal Conference, and representatives of official sociopolitičal organizations from Serbia and Kosovo would attend, so far they have not arrived. Edina Residovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Socialist Alliance of Working People, wished that the gathering aimed at establishing a dialogue on Kosovo would be successful.

Pristina Radio To End Serbo-Croatian Broadcast

Bozur Appeal To Continue Work

LD2802110590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1833 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—After the Serbo-Croat team of Radio Pristina announced that it will cease to broadcast their programs from 0500 [0400 GMT] tomorrow, members of the Bozur association, not just from Kosovo, are contacting all branches of the Bozur and its committee and presidium, to appeal for the programs to continue. In these difficult days for the Serbian and Montenegrin nation, the programs in Serbo-Croat represent almost the sole link with the world and the only proof that Serbian can still be heard in these regions.

Supporting all demands of the Serbo-Croat team, the presidium and committee of the Bozur association join in the appeal of their members and, as a sign of the support for the team, they will convene a meeting in front of the Radio Pristina building at 1600 tomorrow.

Radio Stops Broadcast

AU2802162590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Kosta Krajincanic report from Pristina]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Pristina Radio program in Serbo-Croatian has not been broadcast since this morning. Journalists and other editorial staff are protesting the poor technical and financial conditions under which they have been working since last May. They demand the status of a public social enterprise that would operate independently within Pristina Radio and Television. Because none of their demands has been accepted after their talks with the highest provincial officials yesterday evening, it was decided today at the working people's assembly of the Serbo-Croatian department to stop broadcasting the program indefinitely. However, the frequencies will not remain unused; The Belgrade Radio first program will be carried instead.

Expressing its support of the journalists' demands, the Kosovo Polje Peony Association plans to hold a meeting in the Boro and Ramiz Hall at 1600.

Groups Discuss Pristina Radio; Demand Arms

LD2802193290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Good evening, esteemed listeners. The beginning of the news bulletin will not be pleasant—a general call to arms, a demand to submit documents for issuing permits to carry arms, an announcement of a meeting in Petrova Gora. A meeting was held in Kosovo Polje by a now well-known committee for the return of Serbs and Montenegrins to

Kosovo, which is called Bozur. Our news bulletin begins with a report from Kosovo Polje by Ivanka Lucev and Viktor Tadic.

[Lucev] Though it was announced that 20,000 Serbs and Montenegrins would gather at the meeting of support for the demands of the Serbian editorial board to Pristina Radio, not more than a thousand were present at the Boro and Ramiz Youth Center. It was stated that such meetings are being held today in all the places in Kosovo with Bozur Branches. At the meeting, which lasted about an hour, there were discussions about threats against Serbs and Montenegrins. Every single speaker called for protection, armed protection. Those who do not possess arms were advised by Bogdan Kecam:

[Kecman] I would only like to ask all those who have the right to do so to collect application forms and submit demands for arms, in an official way. Submit demands; fill in the forms and submit them to the Kosovo Polje local community. We will then, in an organized way [loud applause], ask at the republican level that the supply of arms be attested and approved.

[Lucev] [passage omitted: Serbs and Montenegrins also blamed Drnovsek for their problems, saying that the closure of the Serbian office of Pristina Radio was his fault. They called for his resignation.] The Serbs and Montenegrins will not leave their homeland. They will remain in Kosovo and will be helped in this by, as Kecman said, their brothers from Novi Sad, Knin, Kordun, Nevesinje, and other cities, who have registered with the volunteers' units. In conclusion, Kecman also said:

[Kecman] I wish to inform you that on Friday the 22d [as heard] at about 2000 [1900 GMT] we will proceed by train from Kosovo Polje to Petrova Gora, between Sisak and Zagreb [applause] [passage omitted]

Serbs, Montenegrins Demand State Protection

LD2202214290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1829 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Gnjilane, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Gnjilane's presidium of the section for the return of the Serbs and Montenegrins who emigrated, "The Old Homeland," today organized a meeting of representatives of the Serbs and Montenegrins of the Kosovo Morava region's three municipalities. The meeting was attended by Milenko Petrovic and Zoran Andjelkovic, members of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia, and Dobrosav Radovic, a member of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee Presidium.

At the meeting it was demanded that the SR of Serbia deploy all legal and constitutional means to suppress terror and secure peace and freedom for all citizens of the province. An urgent reorganization of all the state organs, particularly the organs of internal affairs and judiciary, as well as the removal of all those who have assumed the role of the separatists' protectors from these organs were cited as the key preconditions for overcoming the extremely tense and difficult situation in this area.

It was also demanded that schools be separated and suggested that the Serbian and Montenegrin children be taken separately to one school, and the same was demanded in secondary education.

The initiative for expelling immigrants from Albania was also supported, as was the demand that the work of the alternative movements in Kosovo be banned.

Dobrosav Radovic, a member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, stressed that the demands and suggestions voiced today were justified. He noted that it was a clear stand of the provincial committee that the state organs should foil the further activities of the alternative movements, since, as he put it, they are headed by this country's proven enemies, the ones who were the chief organizers of the latest demonstrations.

Milenko Petrovic, a member of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, appealed to the Serbs and Montenegrins to stand by their ancestral fireplaces. You are not alone nor will you be left alone, he said. The people in the SR of Serbia and some other republics are on your side while the leadership of Serbia is doing everything to bring peace and security back to Kosovo.

20,000 Serbian Youth Demand Protection in Kosovo

AU2702163190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Kosta Krajincanic report from Kosovo]

[Excerpt] More than 2,000 secondary schoolchildren of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality gathered in the Boro and Ramiz Hall, accompanied by their teachers.

They most often stressed the demand that the provincial authorities provide conditions for them to peacefully attend their classes and to learn, which is something that does not exist in the majority of Kosovo schools at the moment. The secondary schoolchildren are asking for classes to be conducted in the morning and that all schools in Kosovo and Metohija be protected by the combined militia unit, in which they have the most trust.

If these demands are not met by the day after tomorrow, the Serbian and Montenegrin schoolchildren have announced that they will go to Belgrade. We will no longer sign petitions which no one reads but will all go together to the Serbian Assembly, one of the young speakers said. [passage omitted]

Serbian Presidency Views Border Security

AU1802194990 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Feb 90 p 1

[TANJUG report: "The Assured Unity of Defense Preparations on the Whole Republic's Territory"]

[Text] At yesterday's session, which was chaired by Slobodan Milosevic, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia discussed issues concerning the development and consolidation of all-people's defense in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. It was assessed that after the constitutional changes had been adopted in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the necessary changes were successfully carried out, since the new Constitution ensured unified defense preparations throughout the republic, proceeding from the role and tasks that have been established by the Constitution.

As announced, the Presidency made the appropriate decisions which provided for the promotion of tasks in this sphere. Establishing the plan for all-people's defense exercises of importance for the Socialist Republic of Serbia in 1990, the Presidency stated that the proposed exercises in which republican and provincial organs and organizations participate together with the commands, headquarters, and staff of the Armed Forces, are relevant and continue the training and preparation of all entities of all-people's defense and social self-protection.

The Presidency also discussed and adopted a report on the state of security at the state borders, particularly with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. It was assessed that the state of security at the state border and the border area in the Socialist Republic of Serbia is satisfactory, and that problems had only been apparent on the border with the People's Socialist Republic of Serbia. Apart from preventing illegal border crossings, the organs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia will take the necessary measures to prevent the subversive propaganda influence from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania which is directed through television, radio, and other means to the border area, and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as a whole. With the aim of effectively carrying out its tasks of protecting the border and the border area in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the necessary resources have been invested for cadres, facilities, and equipment in the internal affairs organs. The Presidency stressed that in order to successfully protect the borders and the border area, it is important to provide the appropriate economic and other conditions for maintaining the population in the border communes. As regards the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the activities of organs in line with the functions of a law-governed state have been considerably more effective.

Having discussed several issues within its powers, the Presidency made the decision to pardon a number of prisoners.

After a decision by the Presidency at yesterday's session, a special state commission was set up to deal with the issue of radiation in the territory of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The academicians Dusan Kanazir, Stevan Koicki, Zvonko Maric, Nikola Pantic, Milenko Susic, Vojislav Petrovic, and Dr Slobodan Ribnikar, corresponding member of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Science, were appointed to the commission.

Slovene Party To Protest 'Unacceptable Measures'

LD2802093690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—In mid-March the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia—the Party of Democratic Renewal, the former LC of Slovenia—"will hold a demonstration to protest against the unacceptable measures which separate us from our neighbors and which nullify our efforts to establish links with Europe."

The reference is to a protest against the Federal Executive Council [FEC] proposal that the border zone be extended from the current 100 to 1,000 metres which, according to the view expressed in the party headquarters, is quite at variance with Europe Today [Slovene LC] congress documents. The federal government proposal is also at odds with the existing positive processes in international relations. In addition, its adoption would deal a heavy blow against the people who live near our borders, and this does not apply to Slovenia alone. The FEC proposal, it is believed, is a disservice to the Yugoslavia's shaken reputation in the world.

The statement, which has been forwarded to TANJUG, demands that the FEC withdraw its propsal. The removal is also demanded of all military installations on our borders which remind one of the iron curtain already abolished in Europe. According to the statement the militia, not the Army, should directly guard our border, shots should not be fired in the border area, and the restrictions on movement should be cancelled.

Slovenian Presidency on Economy, Serbia

LD2102225790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2045 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubljana, Feb 21 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of Slovenia, Yugoslavia's northwestern, most developed republican today pointed out the necessity of improving the position of export-orientated firms and the need to monitor the effects of certain anti-inflation measures of the federal government.

The Slovenian Presidency also said that Serbia was continuing its blockade on Slovenian goods and expressed support to Slovenia's counter-measures. Firms in Serbia, Yugoslavia's biggest republic, severed business relations with Slovenian partners early last December following Slovenia's refusal to agree with Serbia's stand about the settlement of ethnic unrest in the province of Kosovo.

Slovenian Presidency President Janez Stanovnik said that the republican Presidency was from the start of the blockade against Slovenia taking reciprocal repressive measures against Serbia, expecting a reaction from the federal organs against Serbia's move. According to Stanovnik, it was now obvious that Serbia's decision was

not an act of "temporary anger and quarrel", but a long-term strategy of re-shaping Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav federation.

Slovenian Premier Dusan Sinigoj informed the Slovenian Presidency of certain measures which the republican government will take to protect the Slovenian economy after the one-sidedly declared economic blockade.

Slovenia has also proposed to the federal government to take measures which would improve Slovenia's [words indistinct] mainly by reducing import taxes on materials needed by export-oriented firms. Slovenia's position has deteriorated because of the unexpectedly high inflation rate in January and the 25-percent over-rated exchange of the dinar to the deutsche mark.

Slovene Assembly Presidium Discusses Constitution

LD2202200190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia in expanded composition today discussed the proposals of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and the Assembly of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina to embark on the changes to the SFRY Constitution. Representatives of all new and old political organizations were invited to the session of the Republican Assembly Presidium.

Miran Potrc, president of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia, acquainted the Presidium with the stands of the Constitutional Commission and added that, bearing in mind the present situation in Yugoslavia, there are justified reasons why the mandate of the present composition of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia should be prolonged by a month and even up to 10 May. Likewise, Potrc added, our stand is that the electorate in the republic, where the new election laws based on multiparty activity were adopted, should be enabled to go to the spring elections by the planned deadline and to elect their delegates in municipal and republican assembly bodies.

Dr Joze Pucnik, representative and the president of the Demos [Slovene united opposition], read the latest "statement" of his organization and then "in line with the directive of his organization" left the session, since he was not authorized to take part in its further work.

"The statement" notes, among other things, that the Demos member parties "are willing in principle to conduct political talks with the insitutions of the ruling state and political system in regard to the fundamental issues of the Slovene future, but the talks must be held on an equal footing." Pucnik emphasized that Demos will persevere in its principled and well-known stand "that it is necessary to adopt a new Slovene Constitution before any adoption of amendments or changes to the existing federal Constitution. This means that we reject all current proposals regarding changes to or changing of the federal Constitution. We regard the FEC proposal that political association, that is, party political life, is regulated at the federal level, as particularly dangerous."

Pucnik then added that "Slovenes had the worst experience with centralistic regulations in this area [political association] as far back as the old Yugoslavia." The Demos "statement" also demands that, on the territory of the SR of Slovenia, "the federal Constitution and derivative legislation become null and void".

Dr Ciril Ribicic asked that views about what is acceptable for Slovenia and what is not, without going into formal details, be presented clearly. [passage omitted]

Assembly Commission Discusses Constitution

LD2302222490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1133 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—Today's session of the Commission for Constitutional Questions of the SFRY Assembly started with controversial proposals on how the assemblies of republics and provinces should vote on constitutional changes.

Presenting the Slovene Assembly's stand, Miran Potrc proposed that the republican and provincial assemblies should vote on documents for changing the federal Constitution by individual amendments, while Budimir Kosutic from Serbia considers that this should be done as a "package", as suggested by the Federal Executive Council [FEC] which proposed the changes.

Potrc made it clear that the Slovene Assembly would accept that part of the proposals which refers to the changes in the political system and that for the time being the provisions referring to the place and role of the federation should be set aside. For Kosutic, on the other hand, the problem is that the Slovene Assembly does not accept those FEC proposals which refer to the changes in the socioeconomic system, because without these and the ones in the political system it will not be possible to implement the reforms.

Apart from the views on the method of voting on the amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution, members of the commission should today also examine a proposal on extending the mandate of delegates in the SFRY Assembly.

Amendments to Croatian Constitution Reported

AU2802090890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia"]

[Text] Amendment 54: The Constitution of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia, which was promulgated by the Assembly of the SR of Croatia at its session of 14

February, removes from the basic principles the provision on the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance, and the Confederation of Trade Unions as special sociopolitical organizations, but states that working people and citizens may, in principle, organize themselves in sociopolitical organizations.

Amendment 55: Citizens are equal in their rights and obligations regardless of their nationality, race, sex, language, religion, education, political beliefs, and social position.

Amendment 56: Freedom of the press and other types of information, dissemination, and public expression, freedom of political and other types of association, freedom of speech and public statements, and freedom of assembly and other forms of public meetings are guaranteed.

Amendment 57: The presidents of the Executive Councils of the assemblies of the communes and the associations of city communes are elected for 4 years, for a maximum of two consecutive terms.

Amendment 58: Citizens and working people and their organizations propose and nominate their candidates for delegates to appropriate chambers of the assemblies of sociopolitical communities on the basis of a certain number of signatures in accordance with the conditions of and in the way prescribed by the law.

The Constitutional Court of Croatia may make proposals to the Assembly and undertake measures to ensure constitutionality and legality and the protection of rights of citizens in the election process.

Amendment 59: A commission for protecting and fostering equality among the peoples and nationalities will be set up in the Assembly. The members of the commission will be elected from the ranks of all peoples and nationalities living in the SR of Croatia in the way determined by the Assembly. The president of the Assembly is ex-officio president of the commission. The commission monitors and evaluates the enforcement of the equality of the people and nationalities and their other rights as established by the Constitution and laws, proposes measures for exercising these rights, evaluates the views and proposals on these questions put forward by organs, organizations, and citizens, and initiates discussion about the constitutional and legal protection of the equality of the people and citizens.

When the Assembly has on its agenda a proposed act or any other issue involving the equality of the peoples and nationalities, the relevant chamber, at the request of the commission, or at the request of 10 delegates, may decide on this proposal or issue by a two-thirds majority of its total number of members. At the request of the commission, the relevant chamber of the Assembly may postpone decision on the proposed act or any other issue which the commission considers to be of interest for the equality of the peoples and nationalities. A Commission for Protecting and Fostering the equality of the peoples and nationalities will also be formed in the communal assemblies and the associations of city communes. This amendment replaces Article 219 and 380 of the Constitution.

Amendment 60: The Assembly will set up a Commission of Elections and Appointments whose composition will approximately reflect the representation of the parties in the Assembly chambers. The commission will ensure the democratic proposal and nomination of candidates for posts in the state organs whose incumbents are elected or dismissed by the Assembly. Candidates for election to the Assembly's delegation to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces in the SFRY Assembly, for the president and members of the Presidency of the SR of Croatia, and for the members of the SFRY Presidency will be submitted by the Commission of Elections and Appointments, or could be submitted by 30 delegates in the Assembly.

Amendment 61: The Assembly elects the president of the Assembly's Executive Council at the proposal of the Presidency of the SR of Croatia. The Presidency is obliged to entrust the mandate to the person whom, on the basis of consultations and according to the distribution of parties' representatives, it considers to enjoy the trust of the majority of the Assembly's representatives. The candidate for the president of the Executive Council presents his program at a joint session of the Assembly's chambers and proposes the members of the Executive Council. The Executive Council, whose mandate is expiring, remains in the office until the election of a new Executive Council. If the new Executive Council is not elected within 6 months from the day the newly elected Assembly is constituted, the president of the Assembly calls elections for the representatives of the Assembly and the mandate of the Presidency of the SR of Croatia ends. The Presidency of the SR of Croatia, whose mandate has expired, remains in office until the election of a new Presidency.

Amendment 62: The Chamber of Associated Labor, the Chamber of Municipalities, and the Sociopolitical Chamber discuss and have equal power in making decisions on all issues concerning the duties of the Assembly, except those which, according to the Constitution, are decided by individual chambers independently, or by the Chamber of Municipalities and the Sociopolitical Chamber in tandem, or which are decided by the Assembly at a joint session of all three chambers. The Chamber of Associated Labor, the Chamber of Municipalities, and the Sociopolitical Chamber also have equal decisionmaking power regarding the consent for the adoption of federal laws, and other acts which are decided on by the SFRY Assembly on the basis of the consent given by the assemblies of the republics and autonomous provinces. Changes to the Constitution are decided on by the chambers equally, by a two-thirds majority of the total number of representatives in the chamber.

Amendment 63 establishes the adoption of a constitutional law so that Amendments 54-62 to the Constitution of the SR of Croatia are implemented.

The constitutional law on the implementation of Amendments 54-62 to the Constitution of the SR of Croatia has established that the amendments are applicable from the day they are promulgated, that is, 14 February of this year, except Amendments 59, 60, 61, and 62 which will come into effect from the day a new Assembly is constituted. It is also envisaged that the present Presidency of the SR of Croatia, which was elected in 1986, should remain in office until the election of a new Presidency.

Drnovsek, Mubarak Hold Talks in Cairo

LD2602235490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2247 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Cairo, February 26 (TANJUG)—Belgrade and Cairo would like their good relations to continue to develop in all directions, Presidents Husni Mubarak of Egypt and Janez Drnovsek of Yugoslavia underscored today in the first round of their official talks.

President of the Yugoslav collective State Presidency Janez Drnovsek today arrived on a three-day official visit to Egypt.

During the talks, the two heads of state especially pointed out the need to revive economic cooperation between Egypt and Yugoslavia. It was mentioned that the two countries could cooperate in the industry, joint investments, technology transfer, and joint ventures on third markets.

During today's talks, the two heads of state touched on some topics which will be discussed in more detail tomorrow. These include primarily the activities of the Nonaligned Movement in the light of the latest developments in the world, also the Middle East, Africa's south, and economic problems of developing countries.

Drnovsek Talks to Journalists

LD2702230790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2027 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Cairo, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—Along the road to the reestablishment of full diplomatic relations with Israel, Yugoslavia will initially establish consular relations with that country. This was stated tonight by SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek, who added that today he had transmitted the Yugoslav stance on this issue to the Egyptian President Husni Mubarak and to Prime Minister 'Atif Sidqi.

During his meeting with a group of Yugoslav reporters in Cairo, where he is on an official visit, Drnovsek stressed that the Egyptian side reacted by observing that the issue was a complex one and that it was "up to us to make the assessment, in light of Yugoslavia's specific interests," but they also said that it would be "useful if in its mission Yugoslavia maintained relations with both sides, the Arab side and with Israel."

The Presidency president did not spell out when the "stages" in the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with Israel will be implemented and in what way. However, he expressed the view that "our Arab friends" do not have grounds to be dissatisfied with this decision because, on the contrary, the relations between the SFRY and Israel could also be useful for them.

The talks between Drnovsek and journalists at the Yugoslav Embassy raised the hope that two Yugoslav seamen, Atnon Belic and Stanislav Kramar, who are serving life sentences in Egypt as a result of a sentence for drug trafficking, may be transferred home soon. Drnovsek explained that this issue has been on the agenda during the top-level talks and that both Mubarak and Sidqi expressed understanding regarding the prisoners' age and poor state of health; and the two countries are working hard to conclude an agreement on the reciprocal serving of sentences in the mother countries of the prisoners. In view of the sensitive nature of the issue, Drnovsek offered only a small bit of optimism, but he did justify his hope by reference to the personal promises of the two top leaders in Egypt that they will review the two cases.

The Egyptian debt to Yugoslav firms, estimated to be in the region of $50 million, was also a topic of the top-level Yugoslav and Egyptian dialogue, Drnovsek explained. The people here expressed readiness to favorably resolve our demands, and in this context Egypt put forward several proposals which will be studied, said Drnovsek. According to Egyptian proposals the debt should be partly covered with "cash," partly with Egyptian goods and assorted services, and partly met through Yugoslav investment, Janez Drnovsek, president of our State Presidency, said in conclusion tonight during talks with TANJUG, POLITIKA, OSLOBODJENJE, and SLOBODNA DALMACIJA correspondents and a Radio Yugoslavia special correspondent.

More on Drnovsek-Mubarak Meetings

LD2702235390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2038 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Cairo, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovek and Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, today had detailed talks about the development of bilateral relations. Among international topics, the talks focused on the situation in the Middle East, changes in East Europe and the role of the nonaligned countries in current world events.

Members of both delegations assessed the exchange of views at the top level as meaningful and agreed that they stimulated the advancement of bilateral cooperation, especially on an economic plane. Egyptian Prime Minister 'Atif Sidqi and Budimir Loncar, federal secretary

for foreign affairs, briefed journalists about the 70 minutes long Drnovsek-Mubarak talks.

Yugoslav-Egyptian relations were assessed as very good. The dialogue between their politicians and economists is always smooth and accompanied by great mutual understanding and respect. The need of the economies of both countries now demand that greater efforts be invested so that relations in that area become more comprehensive and better and so that trade surpasses the 20-million dollar level at which it has stayed for several years, the talks concluded.

Drnovsek voiced Yugoslavia's interest in speeding up the agreement with Egypt regarding serving prison sentences in mother countries, since a number of Yugoslavs are sentenced to terms of imprisonment and are serving their sentences in Egyptian prisons. Mubarak replied that he agrees that further efficient work on this issue, although tied with many problems, needs to be done at the level of experts of the two countries.

Egyptian President Mubarak spoke about the latest situation in the Middle East, and above all about peace initiatives directed at beginning a dialogue between Israel and Palestinians. On that subject, he expressed moderate optimism.

Both sides expressed concern over the settling of Soviet Jews on occupied Arab territory. "This is dangerous and wrong. Egypt does not accept it," said Mubarak.

Dronovsek remarked that the Middle East and the quest for a comprehensive and lasting peace, coupled with full respect for the rights of every one in this area, will remain one of the priorities of the Nonaligned Movement.

Egypt was particularly interested in learning of the Yugoslav perception of the major changes in East Europe, gloal transformations in the relations within the blocs, and of the intimated unification of the two Germanys. On a previous occasion Egypt publicly welcomed "the new trends," but expressed unease over the possible shift in the financial and economic aid of the West to the detriment of the developing countries.

Drnovsek set out in detail Yugoslavia's stand in connection with the aforementioned issues, within the context of which support was rendered for the democratic processes and strengthening of the spirit of cooperation and understanding between the great powers. The president of the SFRY Presidency also spoke of political pluralism in Yugoslav society and the liberalization of the economy.

After his talks with Mubarak, Drnovsek visited the Nasco car and tractor factory which for several years now has been collaborating with Yugoslav partners. He also visited the Egyptian museum of antiquities which he had not entered since he had served here as a young diplomat.

Tonight a meeting is due to be held in the SFRY Embassy in Cairo between Janez Drnovsek and Yugoslav business representatives in Egypt. Drnovsek's three day official visit ends tomorrow. Yesterday and today it was featured prominently in Cairo papers, with front page reports on yesterday's first meeting between the president of the SFRY Presidency and his host, Egyptian President Husni Mubarak.

Drnovsek Comments, Departs

LD2802161890 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek ended his three-day visit to Egypt today. At 1545 local time President Drnovsek was seen off with highest state honors. Here is a report by Ejub Stikovac, Radio Yugoslavia correspondent:

[Stikovac] This morning President Drnovsek toured Cairo's historic and cultural sites: the pyramids, the old town, and the citadel and the Ship of the Sun. During his three-day visit he exchanged views with his hosts about the most important topical issues of international and bilateral relations. Having assessed the visit as very useful President Drnovsek made the following statement for Yugoslav radio network:

[Begin Drnovsek recording] The Egyptian side was interested in events in East Europe. For our part we informed them about our assessments and views of the situation in Europe, in general. These and the problem of indebtedness were the main topics of discussion. The debt problems, relations with international financial institutions, and talks with the IMF and creditors are issues which occupy Egypt's attention considerably. As we have had a great deal of experience with this we exchanged views about these issues.

In my talks with President Mubarak and Prime Minister Sidqi I raised the issue of our two prisoners in Egypt. Both promised personally to do their utmost to resolve this problem as soon as possible.

We are in a similar situation as regards foreign debts. They are, however, in a much more difficult position. We have pulled out of the most serious debt crisis and our situation is much better than that of Egypt's. Our foreign currency reserves are considerably high and we have reduced our foreign debt. Egypt is at a stage where we were some time ago and is faced with big problems. As a result they are having difficulties in repaying what they owe us. We have tried to find ways of repayment, either through barter, or our investment in this country, compensations, and tied deals. I must say that they showed readiness and willingness to resolve this problem. [end recording]

Drnovsek Pays Brief Visit to Malta

LD2802235390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2036 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Malta, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—On his return from a state visit to Cairo, SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek paid a short visit to Malta where he met Vincent Tabone, president of the Republic of Malta. On this occasion cordial talks were held which included questions concerning bilateral relations, cooperation within the framework of the Nonaligned Movement, especially concerning the neutral and nonaligned countries of Europe.

The talks, which took place in the traditionally cordial and friendly atmosphere, were attended on the Maltese side by Prime Minister Adami Fenech and other high-ranking government officials, and on the Yugoslav side by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, Dusan Strbac, ambassador of the SFRY in Rome also accredited to the Republic of Malta, as well as other members of the Yugoslav delegation.

On this occasion Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, renewed the invitation to President Tabone and Prime Minister Adami to visit Yugoslavia, which was accepted with pleasure. Both sides noted that a high political level of relations between the two nonaligned countries was not backed up by adequate economic cooperation and in this respect the two presidents stressed that both sides should investigate possibilities for its promotion. Some concrete steps for involving Yugoslav firms in Malta were mentioned.

The main attention was, understandably, devoted to cooperation in the group of neutral and nonaligned countries within the CSCE framework. Tomorrow and the day after these countries will, at the level of foreign ministers, examine new trends in Europe following major changes in the east part of the continent, as well as the role which they can have in preparations for the new Helsinki conference and the consolidation of integration processes in Europe.

Within the CSCE process so far, these countries, as both Presidents said, proved their initiative and contribution to positive trends in cooperation and security in Europe.

Presidents Drnovsek and Tabone also exchanged views on the status of and relations between Yugoslavia and Malta and the EC.

SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek expressed gratitude, on behalf of the delegation, for the cordial welcome while the hosts expressed their satisfaction with the fact that the meeting had taken place.

Returns Home

LD2802235890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2103 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, returned this evening from the three-day official visit to Egypt where he had been the guest of President Husni Mubarak.

On his return Janez Drnovsek stopped over in La Valeta, Malta, where he had talks with the President of this Mediterranean country, Vincent Tabone. Those greeting President Drnovsek at Batajnice airport included Borisav Jovic, vice-president of the SFRY Presidency, Peter Gracanin, federal secretary for internal affairs, and Colonel-General Blagoje Adzic, Chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who had been accompanying President Drnovsek, remained in Malta, where a two-day meeting of foreign ministers of nine neutral and nonaligned countries of Europe will begin tomorrow.

Israeli Spokesman Positive About Relations

LD2802141490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1246 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Jerusalem, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—"If Yugoslavia decides and proposes the establishment of full diplomatic relations with Israel, the Israeli Government will sincerely welcome the proposal, "Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman Joseph Ahimud told TANJUG in Jerusalem today.

Yugoslav State Presidency President Janez Drnovsek yesterday said, within an official visit to Cairo, that Yugoslavia would establish consular relations with Israel Prior to renewing full diplomatic relations.

The fact that all Israeli dailies today carried on their front pages the news from Cairo, i.e. the statement by Yugoslav State Presidency president, indicates the attention the news aroused. Israel has gradually normalized relations only with Poland and Hungary which first opened interest sections in Tel Aviv, followed by the renewal of full diplomatic relatins. The same process is under way with the Soviet Union.

Serbia's Relations With Israel Viewed

AU2802100090 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Feb 90 p 1

[Hido Biscevic commentary: "Serb Israel"]

[Text] Over many years Yugoslavia has gotten used to accepting similes and metaphors pertaining to international relations as hallmarks of its internal policy. One of the examples is of course the real avalanche of identifications of Serbian-Kosovo relations with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The latest example of the practice of raising facilely used metaphors to the level of official foreign political doctrine of one (!) republic is certainly the twinning of Valjevo and Rehovot when Slobodan Milosevic met a delegation of Rehovot and Tel Aviv. Although earlier hints about the idea of a Serbian-Jewish lobby in the West or the travels of the Serbian "Foreign

Affairs Minister Prlja" also involved a certain amount of the "official policy," it seems that it was only after the interview Slobodan Milosevic gave to HA'ARETZ recently—in which he claims that "as far as Serbia is concerned" there is no reason not to resume Yugoslav-Israeli relations—that a carefully elaborated strategy has been completed. That strategy does not really have Israel and the Middle Eastern crisis in the center of attention at all, but they only serve as a means of realizing internal and foreign political aims of the present Serbian leadership.

Kosovo and the West Bank

It would therefore be good to know whether in their most recent talks Serbian and Israeli delegations exchanged opinions about, for example, how the crisis on their "holy territories," that is, Kosovo and the West Bank, can be solved peacefully. Did Milosevic talk with Israeli mayors about how one can stop unrest in rebellious Kosovo and Palestinian towns and whether repression is really the only way toward lasting, just, and stable peace?

Have they perhaps agreed that one should lift the state of emergency, turn toward dialogue and negotiations, and give up the stupid bullet policy? Has the role of Jewish settlers in occupied Palestine and the "threatened" Serbs in Kosovo been observed in a new light? Have they perhaps elaborated further the tactics of using the term, "terrorism," as a decoy to get support from the West although a dead "terrorist" has been the only proof of the existence of "terrorism" in Kosovo? Have they exchanged experience in the sphere of the "policy of expulsion" and mass settlement? Is Milosevic going to implement here the one-time Zionist thesis about "the land without people for the people without land" and do so after having "emptied Kosovo" by expelling emigrants as an introduction to mass settlement carried on the wave of inflamed national emotions?

The Policy of Intimidation

It would be good to know whether Milosevic has learned anything new about the methods of "differentiation" in Israel that may be suitable in Kosovo after the two countries—during the recent few years of unrest in Kosovo and uprising in the Palestine—implemented various forms of police investigations and imprisonments on the almost one-half of population of the territory they are trying to put under their power. Have they, for example, achieved any closeness of views about the thesis that Jordan is "the second Palestinian country" and hence, "Albania is the homeland of Kosovo Albanians," so one can expect the policy of intimidation to be followed by preparations for mass transfers?

Finally, have those two states—today under direct attacks by the world public and international institutions—agreed on how to reply to ever increasing criticism and attacks for violating human rights? As far as the Serbian political public is concerned, it is now facing only one question: Is this "Israelized" Serbia with its own variants of Rabin, Sharon, or Shamir and an equally rightist attitude toward Kosovo, really the kind of Serbia it wanted to have and with which it would like to "join Europe," something it has been zealously advocating during recent years?